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THE WORKS
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VOL. II.

1840.

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DUBLIN.

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THE

HISTORICAL WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. NICHOLAS FRENCH D.D.

BISHOP OF FERNS, &c. &c.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING NOTICES, HISTORICAL AND
DESCRIPTIVE, OF THE IRISH COLLEGES OF LOUVAIN.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

THE VNKINDE DESERTOR

OF

LOYALL MEN AND TRUE FRINDS.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE narrative of a contemporary writer no doubt presents the most valuable material for the student who wishes to use History as "Philosophy teaching by example;" it not alone preserves the minute events, so often overlooked by a subsequent historian, but it gives them with a colouring and freshness which often helps to make them still more valuable and instructive. In the pages of these productions, we not alone find the deeds themselves but the very thoughts and motives of the actors; and thus the scenes pass before the mind, leaving their impressions, and enabling us to approximate that certainty of conclusion which can never be arrived at except by a contemporary himself.

Of this class of Irish Historical Literature, to which we allude, and which is, unfortunately, very limited among us, perhaps there is no more valuable specimen than **THE UNKINDE DESERTOR**, being a narrative of the events occurring in a most interesting and suggestive period of Irish history, written by a most eminent man, Nicholas French, the master-spirit of the times. We could very willingly comment upon the contents of these pages, but such is not our present purpose ; we confess we are one of those that would prefer to see the reader draw his own conclusions from the "examples" or experience which history affords, than to see him rest for a moment upon the opinion of another, truthful though it be. We wish to see a student learn a lesson for himself, that he might apply his wisdom to the opportunities that present themselves ; and surely, in the political crisis that surrounds us, Ireland can ill afford to lose the help or sympathy of even the weakest of her children. Having thus far premised, we must, for these reasons, commit this "little book," without further observation, to the reader, with the hope that he may read it with a purpose, and profit by the perusal.

Like all Doctor French's works, "**The Unkinde Desertor**" is very scarce ; the copy which

was sold at the celebrated sale of Mr. Townley brought thirty guineas. In the printed catalogue of the Right Hon. Mr. Grenville, the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. i., p. 258, and in the *Manual* of the French writer, Brunet, as well as in all other works upon Bibliography, it is treated of as a Book of great rarity; and, notwithstanding this, it is now placed within the reach of the Irish student, of every class, at a price contrasting oddly with what he may read of in these authorities.

In the Introduction to these Volumes, the Editor, while treating of the Siege of Louvain, has alleged that the occurrence took place in 1635; Dr. French, in speaking upon the same subject, in this Volume, page 106, states that it happened in 1634. The Editor's authorities are, *Relatio du Siege Louvain*, 1835, *passim*, *Strafforde's Letters*, vol. i., 440, where may be seen a letter from Preston, in reference to this siege. These, together with the fact of the Centenary Festival of the citizens of Louvain having been held in 1835, and not in 1834, establish, beyond doubt, that the event took place in 1635. Even Vernulœur, to whom Dr. French refers as his authority, confirms the view which the Editor has taken. In page 84, vol. i., the editor has also stated, that it was "believed"

the "~~Bleeding~~ Iphigenia" was intended as a Preface for the "Dolefull Fall of Andrew Sall." This belief was the result of a conversation with Dr. Todd upon the subject, and that gentleman has since been kind enough to confirm the impression which the editor formed at the time. There remains no longer a doubt upon the matter, and to Dr. Todd is alone due the merit of this discovery.

THE
VNKINDE
DESERTOR
OF
LOYALL MEN
AND
TRUE FRINDS.

"In the land of the holy hee hath don wicked things, and hee shall
not see the glory of our Lord."—*Isai. cap. 26. vers. 10.*

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, ANNO 1676.

THE CONTENTS OF THIS LITTLE BOOK,

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THE PREFACE.

BANISHED for Religion, and Loyalty to my Prince (in the yeare 1652.) by Cromwelians then bearing sway, (wee were som fifteen of vs ship't in one bottom) landing in Britaine in France, I tooke my way to this Province not farre from Narbon, where I had frinds having liu'd there before: And heer I have been about 24. yeares very solitary, seeing rarly any of my Countrymen. Thus farre from Labans house and noys, I finde great tranquility and ease of minde in Magdalens silent contemplation.

When I have been forced a way, the Land was possessed by Philistym, they had the Arck captive, and vnder them my country was turned to a Babylon of sinn & vyce: Nothing was to be seen in the Streets of this Cittie but oppression of the Iust, iniquity, rage, and fury against Roman piety; the Altars falne downe, and the Priestes bitterly persecuted, some of them consuming a way in prisons, som cast into exile, and others chased in wods and mountains, like wyld beasts, all of them charged with two great

crymes: To be Catholick Priestes, and Loyall to their king. All the Catholicks true to God and Prince, transplanted into a corner of the Kingdom. And this calamity they suffered with the rest, that Royall authority was layd a side, and a Dagon sett vp (The tyranny of the vsurping Parliament) and revered.

This was the face then of that enchanted Iland: and they say things are noe way amended (as to Catholick natives) since the kings going home, that change having noe ways bettered their fortunes, but that their calamities and miseries (soe it is written from many hand's) are dayly increased, soe as men beaten with Scourges in Crumwell's tyme, cry out they are now beaten with Scorpions.

Often have I lamented all a lone for my deare Countrys desolation, and found my greefe inconsolable, because I saw noe end of their sufferings: Somtym it came to my minde, that if a sincere relation of our hard servitude and extremities were given to Catholic Princes with humble prayers, this would doe vs good; but a gaine when I called to minde that this had been don already, and that able and noble personages had said these things in significant language, and that they had in all Courts but cold and delaying answers, I dispair'd of all releefe that way. One of our Bishops having been in Rome Anno 1652. *Ad visitanda limina Apostolica*, had conference with the then Cardinal Secretary

(after Alexander Septimus) his Eminency said to the Bishop, it was a sensible greefe to his Holynesse to see his Children of Irland a constant people in Catholick Religion soe sorly afflicted, and cast downe, and holy faith allmost extinguished, and that there was noe way possible to releve them; the Prelate reply'd our wound is now indeed soe wide and feastered; as is very hard to heal it, but when it was fresh, not soe wide, and as yet curable, our Nation found no Samaritan that would power oyle and wine into it.

One thing I shall say; worthy to be written in Characters of gold, that a Catholick Prince driven out of his owne Dominions, was hee that offered fairest *Ad rem Catholicorum in Hibernia restituendam*; Charles P. M. late Duke of Loraine a Cæsar in fortitude and Resolution, one of the greatest Captaines Europ had seen for som ages, a Prince, that by longe experience of crosses and Calamities made the world know, *Quod sciverit fortia agere, & fortia pati.*

To this Duke were sent from Irland Anno 1651. *Stilo veteri* a Bishop & a Chevalier of high quality from the Clergy; and from the then Visroy or Lord Deputy and the people a Viscount and two noble Chevaliers, all able men and fitt to manage soe important a business, as that was. The Duke received them with all afability, and after a deliberation, and debate of som monthes, they proceeded to an agreement very advan-

tagious to Catholick Religion, the king, and Nation; the sum of this capitulation was, that his highness vndertook to warr vpon the Rebelling Parliament, to pay the Army and to furnish Cannon and all war-like Amunition vntill the Kingdom were recovered; and those vndertook in behalfe of the Nation to reimbours his highness, and to give him for Caution som townes; his Highness medled not at all with the civill goverment of the Kingdom, but only with the Militia, and was ingag'd to restore the Cautionary townes, his disboursments being payd. The Duke advanced twenty thousand pistols in ready mony, six thousand therof went over with his Envoy the Abbot of S. Catharin, whoe tooke vp fourteen thousand more of the Marchants in Irland, which som was payd them in Antwerp by the Dukes order.

His Highness sent over two little vessels with Amunition and Armes, which arrived, and two other little vessels were taken vpon the Coast of Britanie: The whole came to som thirty thousand pistols; and was not this a Princely and magnificent liberality of a Duke then out of his owne Country? But let noe man wonder at this, it being naturall to the great Dukes of Loraine to fight Battles for holy Religion, and the house of God in all extremities; and what other can be expected from Princes descending from Godefry king of Hierusalem? I should fill a vollume, if I should speak at large of his warlike feats and

vallour, let the day and Battle of Nortingham alone speak, wherein were slaine 18000 Swedes; to his vallour and conduct was attributed a great share of this victory: *Vno verbo* in all encounters, hee play'd a souldiers part as well as that of a Captaine; *Et licet fuerit maximus Imperio militari, fuit tamen major exemplo fortitudinis*. This digression, and mention of his high exploits and fortitude, is a gratitude due from mee to his highness, who hath been a patron and father to my Countymen in their exile; and confident I am God will poure blessings abundantly vpon his gallant Childe Prince de Vaudemont, and noe less on his Nephew present Duke Charles of Loraine a Prince of great expectation, and on the whole family a most glorious house, that hath evermore defended and protected the Catholick Church.

To speak of the greatness, antiquity, and splendor of the house of Loraine is but to hold a candle to the sunne; All Europ knowes the puissance and piety of the house of Guise (a branch of Loraine) which gave a Queen to Scotland Mary second wife to King Iames the fifth., mother to Queen Mary of Scotts (put to death in England by Cruell Elizabeth) great Grandmother to King Charles the second, by her right hee is true Heire and King of the three Kingdoms. There are other noble Families in France, as D'lbouf, Maine, Ioyes, Har-

cour, and many more, golden streames flowing from their fountaine the house of Guise, (as that from Loraine) those houses have alsoe given most Excellent Heroes and Captains, all of them ever true to the holy Church, and Loyall to their Princes, the most Christian Kings.

Soone after the a forsaid Capitulation was perfected, our King arriving at Paris, (after the defeat and Roote of his army at Worcester) the Duke demanded his Royall assent to the agreement hee had made with his Catholick subjects: the King heervpon cald together his counsell, (Ormond was one of them) for giving answer; they Iudged it noe way expedient, that the King should agree to what had past between the Duke and his subjects at Brussels; Which seemed strange to all that heard it, seeing noe Prince in Europ took part with our King, but the Duke a lone. It seems this Counsell, (all compos'd of Protestants) would not have Irland recovered by a Catholick Prince, they could by noe meanes agree with two Articles of the Capitulation, the one; that the Duke had been accepted by those contracted with him, for Protector Royall of the Nation, they were less troubled that Crumwell, who had murthered one King, and forced a nother (the Present King) out of his Dominions, should take all, then a most antient Catholick Duke and his Majestyes kinsman should bee stiled Royal Protector of the

Catholicks of Irland, wheras soon after Crumwell was over all Europ called Protector of the three Kingdoms.

The other displeasing Article was, that his Highness engag'd himselfe to restore Catholick Religion in Irland in its splendor, and soe Catholick was the Duke, as hee chiefly took in hand our quarrell for making good this Article.

The Capitulation (from which wee hoped for preservation) being blasted in this Kinde, his Majestey Employed two Envoyes to the Duke, an English Protestant Lord, and Sr. Henry de Visque his Majesties then Resident in Brussell, with those the King returnd the Duke thanks by a Kinde letter for his care of his intrest, and desired him to treat with these new men; who were curteously received by his Highness; but at the second conference hee told them hee did not know what matter of Capitulation could pass between him and their master, who had not at that tyme in his owne possession as much as one Citty, wal'd-towne, fort, or Port in his three Kingdoms; yet not withstanding if his Majesty would bee pleas'd to consent to the Articles hee had perfected with the aforesaid Catholick commissioners, hee would perform all of his part; which answer being not accepted by the Kings counsell, the Duke by a handsom manifest soon after, discharg'd his owne honour from all blame and Imputation touching the forementioned Capitulation and agreement.

Be pleased my civill reader to consider the deplorable and sadd condition of the Catholicks of Irland at that tyme. Theirre spirituall fathers, the Bishops, and theirre Lower Pastors and the Religious men assisting them in the vyn-yard, were many of them sent into exile, (in one yeare fourteen Bishops) the Noblemen and all the Catholick gentry haled violently out of theirre owne houses, and lands, and shutt vp in a corner of a Province (naked and disarmed) either to be all murthered in one day, (there was a consultation of officers to that purpose, but they agree'd not, God would not have soe many Innocents Massacred at one tyme) or to perish in many days in famin, miseries, and servitude as many of them ended afterwards: The lawes prescrib'd to them, were cruell and Barbarous; if any of them went to a sea-port or to any other Province without express order and licence, it was lawfull to kill them whersoever they were found; to keep a Musquett, sword, or any other weapon, or powder in a Catholicks house, was present death; to receive or harbor a priest, was alsoe death; and there was a nother thing as yet more bloody. They framed an ingagement to be taken by all sorts of men vpon oath, to obey the Parlament, and renounce the King and the family of the Stuarts for ever, and all took a ticket of having taken that ingagement, and poor men, that had not theirre tickets about them, were killd vpon the high way by the souldiers for not having it;

these were the execrable Lawes the Catholicks then liu'd vnder. The Lord of Ormond had governed the Catholicks as the Kings Lord Lieutenant about those tymes, but when Crumwell came over, and like a lightning passed through the Land, taking in Provinces, wall'd Townes, and Cittys; hee never appear'd, never fought the Enemy, nor releev'd any place besieged; (truly wee found nothing in him of Counsell or fortitude) and when all was lost but two Townes and one Province, (which were soon after taken) hee past into France, and left the Catholicks to the butchery.

The counsell by this means destroy'd the contract. And were not these Counsellors well affected to Catholicks, that vpon a serious deliberation would not have the Catholicks preserved, and protected by a Catholick Prince, but left to the mercy of Crumwell a bloody tyrant? The forwardest of all in doing this Mischief was Ormond; this was the Kindness to vs of that man ever fatall to Catholicks.

An Italian gave to a great person, whose qualitys hee knew well, this Character, *Inimicus gravissimus*, & *amicus levissimus*. Which may be well apply'd to Ormond in relation to Catholicks; his anger to them was still inplacable, and his Kindness sleight and vncertaine, his frindship, was a Court frindship, much like those druggs of Apothicaries, that are hott in the mouth, and cold in operation; what good and faire

words did this Nobleman give to the Catholicks of Irland when hee came from the Queen and Prince in the yeare 1648. To conclude a peace with them? the words in his mouth then, were hott and comfortable, but when they came to operation, they were indeed but rotten druggs.

After this feat hee had don in Paris, (the casting a way the Duke of Loraines Protection) hee was with the King in the low countrys, and there hee dissembled and tampered with the good plaine Irish, and gave them good words and frindly promises of doing them great good, if God restor'd the King; the King was restored, and Ormond turn'd his sailes and playd another game, and stuck close to Clarindon, that studied our Ruin, hee then made a stepp further, and closed in great Kindness with Orery and the Crumwelians; the Catholicks claiming their owne landes and estates produced good Evidences, Iustice and their Innocency; (but those were of little value with Ormond, and Clarindon;) Orery with his band of Crumwelians show'd gold and pretious gifts, and those proved strong Evidences: Ormond then fell of clearly from vs, and injured vs without all feare, and commonly where there is noe feare of revenge, ill given men have noe conscience or feare of offending others; with Clarindon all things were vendible, and with Ormond all was lawfull, that was not vnprofitable.

I present you with a wise fable, and I think

to my purpose. *Æsop* says. *Heu mihi (inquit vulpes rubo) confugi ad te tanquam ad auxiliatorem, sed tu pejus me tractasti: heus tu (inquit rubus) errasti, quæ me apprehendere voluisti, qui omnes apprehendere soleo.* "A lass (said the fox to the great bramble) I come flying to thee as to a shelter and friend: but thou hast handled mee worse then I was before: but the bramble said, a lass poor fox thou art a stray in taking gripe of mee, for thou knowest I scratch all that Handels mee."

My courteous reader, that Ormond hath always been a great bramble cruelly scratching and tormenting the Catholicks of Ireland, this little booke, I put in your hand, will show evidently. I have spent some houres of Leasure, God was pleas'd to afford mee about this little worke, wherein I set downe sincerly the malice, craft, Iuglings, and slights, of those, that have contriu'd our ruine; noe man will appeare vpon the stage soe often and frequently as Ormond, in acting his part in our Tragedy; this is the best account I can give to my COUNTRYMEN of my longe silence in my solitude.

I know my owne weakness, and the slowness of my tallent, but I had tyme at will for helping this; the sneile comes to the topp of the hill in her due tyme, as well as the Eagle, and with tyme and straw (as they vse to speake) men ripen medlers, and soe doe men their affaires with leasure and meanes, and who will doe a thing well, must have patience to tarry till it may be well

don; I had patience and leasure enough, and at length I have brought my designe to an end, whether it be well done or noe, I leave to the judgment of the impartiall reader. I gave notice of what was don to a Doctor of devinity, a person of Emminent Learning, and to other frinds in Paris, they vrg'd mee with stronge lynes, to print all was don without delay: I alsoe writt to a venerable Prelate then living in Flanders, whose judgment I much esteemed, and the inviolable Amity between vs of a bove 45 yeares; hee quite beyond my expectation dissuaded the printing, and gave reasons that seemed sound, hee would not blame those pressed mee to the printing, nor judge ill of their intentions, but was of opinion, they had not rightly considered the more substantiall circumstances of the matter, and sayd, deare frind my advice in this point is. *Festina Lente*, hee suggested that regard should be had of Ormonds noble Catholick Ancestors, and specially of his Grand-father Walter Earle of Ormond, and of his owne pious parents, and of his Brother Mr. Richard Butler a Chavaliere of great devotion, and yet valliant in the face of his Enemy, and of his sisters, all of them vertuous Catholick Ladys; hee knew them all, and was well knowne to some of them: certainly I did not think this very reuerend church-man had been soe kind to Ormond, his letter hee ended with these lynes.

My worthy frind, I beseech you bee as kinde to Ormond, as the overseer of the vyn-yard was

to the figgtree in his charge, who, (when the Lord of the vyn-yard finding noe fruict in the tree as hee expected sayd in anger *Succide ergo illam &c.* "Cut downe this vnprofitable tree, why doth it stand heer and occupy the ground for nothing?") Answered (grieving the tree should be fallne,) "I pray let the tree alone for a nother yeare, vntill I shall digg about it, and dung it, if it shall happily yield fruite, if not you shall cutt it downe." What can wee tell (sayd my frind) if Ormond may not as yet yield fruicte, and comfort all those hee hath afflicted. Have therefore patience with him for a while, even for the vertue & piety of his very noble Catholick fore-fathers.

I yielded to this venerable persons Iudgment, and suspended the printing from the yeare 1668. to this 1676. Waiting still what Ormond would doe, and if hee would relent, and becom frindly to his Country; but all this tyme nothing is done: The great Lord of the vyn-yard findes noe Charity in him, hee is allways the same, a hard harted-man, and our vnplacable enemy. Hee is still a high fig-tree, bearing great leaves of vanity, (but noe fruicte) sucking vp the fatt and sapp of the earth, and therby starving all the plants round about him, thousands of widowes, Orphans & Innocent soules: hee kept the heat of the sune from vs all, (the kings mercy,) hee barred all Iustice to be don vs, and the generall pardon to be extended to vs, (wee only have been excepted and excluded

from that Grace by this Noble mans cunning cruelty.) Wee have dig'd about him to long, and spent our dung in vaine, Ormond will yield noe fruit; (hee is a Babilon will not be cured.) God hath borne long with his doing evill, hee hath long held his peace, but hee will not hold his peace still; hee will in the end cutt downe in his anger this high sterrill tree, vnworthy to stand any longer vpon earth; and for his sin and cruelty against his country and nation, will likely pull downe his house and generation, which wee noe way desire.

I make heer a sincere protestation before God and men, that I contend not against this Noble-mans person or dignity, I honour his noble Catholick house, and soe much care I have of his soule, as I am ready to shed my blood for doing him good that way; my minde therefore is, to deliver his artifices, perfidie, revenging minde, and rankor against my Nation, which I will doe plainly and faithfully, without art and passion, thinking in my minde it will redound to Gods glory to vex this Childe of pride, that hath vexed and persecuted soe long, and soe sharply thousands of Gods humble Children, and brought them to distruction. I put an end to this preface letting fly an arrow at Ormond (a sharp-ended one) out of the Prophets Quiver,* "In the land of the holy hee hath done wicked things, and hee shall not see the glory of our Lord."

* Isai. cap. 26.

The Advertisement, of a true patriot to the Reader.

My father (well knowne in the country hee liud in) was pleased to send mee a broad Anno 1637, (three yeares before the Irish warr) to be bred vp in vertue and learning, and I made by Gods blessing that progress in my studies, as I came to a convenient fortune, which I am to Enjoy all my life: soe as I never intend to returne to my country, and yet I cannot in nature but love the people, and hartily lament their woes, calamitys, vnsupportable servitude. Demaunding from those exiled the present state of the Nation, they all told mee, ther was nothing to be seen at home, but *Luctus & pavor*, men, woemen, infants, widowes, and orphans, all squallid, naked; languishing and even dying with famine; *Proh dolor: denigrata est super carbones facies eorum & non sunt cogniti in plateis, adhæsit cutis ossibus eorum.* And all this tyme I saw none would speake the horrid injurys the Nation suffered. At length I saw a small book bearing this title. "A narrative of the settlement and sale of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Earle of Clarindon printed Anno 1660." There came out Anno 1674. a little treatis stiled. "The Bleeding Iphigenia," an excellent piece, chiefly against Clarindon & Orrery our capitall Enemys. But this last discourse called "The Vnkind Desertor of Loyall

men & true frinds," (The Author I have never seen nor knowne) proving clearly Ormond to have been the greatest Enemie the Nation ever had, (all men say the same) is the most excellent thing of all I saw, sound and well ordered, full of trueth, strong in sence, & containing faire & Christian documents; by which the author hath for ever oblig'd the whole Nation. This man tells the King freely, that suffering himselfe to be deluded by ministers of Ill meaning, (chiefly Clarindon & Ormond) they took the opportunity like two whales & monsters of Avarice & crulety to devour his faithfull subjects; wherefore hee pittifully complaines, that justice was not don to the oppressed.

Even with Pagans the opinion of sanctity and Iustice in theire King was great. *Magnus Cyrus non censebat convenire cuiquam jimperium, qui non melior esset eijs, quibus imperarit. Mexicanorum autem mos erat, qui quoties regem aliquem novum inaugurarent, Iusjurandum ab illo postulabant, quod Iustitiam esset administraturus, non oppressurus subditos; futurus in bello fortis ac strenuus; curaturusque denique, ut sol cursum suum ac splendorem retineret, nubes largirentur pluvias, fluvij manarent aquis; & terra suos proferret fructus.* And a nother Author says. *Annus bonus non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de justé regnantibus est existimandus.* God grant to all Christian Kings to rule with Iustice & peace, Amen.

THE
FIRST CHAPTER.

*The long silence the Irish Catholicks had
with Ormond (Since the king's
comminge in) did redound
much to theyr
losse.*

To know when to speak, and when to be silent, is a commendable virtue: Salomon the wisest of men, taught this lesson to men in the words. *Tempus est tacendi*, and *tempus loquendi* he began with *tempus tacendi*, and his reason was, *quia veritas (inquit legis lator) primo tacendo discitur, postea docendo prædicatur*, truth is first learned by silence, next published by teaching. Socrates that famous Grecian, *sapientissimus hominum* pronounced by the Oracle, did much commend Silence vnto his disciples, and with great reason, in as much as there is greater wisdom, and lesse danger in being silent, then in speaking; wherefore Symonides one of the wisest men of his owne time, was often

heard to say, *loquutum me esse dolui sæpè, tacuisse nunquam*, "often have I repented to have spoaken, never for having held my peace;" notwithstanding all thes great encomis of Silence, celebrated by soe many wise Sages in all tymes, nevertheless a long and vnseasonable Silence, is, and may be as blameable, as the other is recommendable.

To be Silent and hould my peace when an open injurie is don to my Religion, countrie and Parents, is neither wisdom pietie, nor vertue to be commended; this is, and hath been (as I perceave) the long Silence the Catholicks of Irland, had with the Lord Duke of Ormond giving him both time and leasure, to worke theyr ruine and downfall, without preventing the same (in a just forme and seasonable time) by theyr instant adresses, to the king, councel, or any else.

We have kept a longer Silence (to our great detriment) then Pythagoras his schollars have don, theyr Silence was limited to five yeares only, before theyr publick Tentamens in schoole, for the performance of which *Magister dixit*, was sufficient to them; but we, poore soules! have been silent neer now vpon thirteen yeares, suffering with all patience the open wrongs, and manifest Detriments this Noble-man have don vs, soe that vnder the notion of a friend, we discovered him at long-running to be our openemie.

The same Ormond's speech (soone after the kings happie restauration) to Orrery, Month-rath, Clothworthy, Mervin, and such others of that fortunat tribe, have been in this nature, *Omnes bestia agri venite ad devorandum (nempe Iberniam) Vniuersæ bestiæ saltus.* "All yee beasts of the field come to deuoure (he means Irland) All yee beasts of the forrest." What were we doing? Where have we been? Or what became of our senses at that time when Ormond convoked thos men to deuoure vs? We were all of vs in a deepe Silence, much like men in a fatal lethargie, soe as the words of the same prophet may be properly said of us *Speculatores ejus (id est Ibernice) cæci omnes, nescierunt Vniuersi, canes muti non valentes latrare, videntes vana, dormientes, & amantes somnia,* "her watch-men all blind haue been ignorant; dumb doggs not able to bark seeynge vain things, sleeping and loving dreams:" truly wee were all much like bewitched people, dotinge upon a man; that loued us not, and like men dreaming vain dreams; our Bishops, and churchmen (lett these venerable persons giue me leave to speake my sentiment) our Bishops I say, and Cleargymen, were but *canes muti non valentes latrare.* I did not see, nor heare of any in that numerous congregation (a monghst whom there haue been several learned and wise men) that haue written any thinge to this purpose, in characterizing (as they should haue don) this great man, and his craftie

designes to the publick ruine, exceptinge one of the divines (that then attended upon the Ecclesiastical congregation of whom mention was made in our preface) who composed a substantial, and solid peece replenished with uncontroulable reasons, justifying, the just rejection of that peace, made and agreed, in the kingdom's behalfe (by certain Commissioners) with Ormond in the yeare 1646. this rejection of that peace Ormond takes for *petra scandali*, and as a dishonour (forsooth) to his person, soe that, from that day to this houre he hath been, and is still an open enemy to the Bishops of Irland and Cleargy; this divine that I speak off, did in a sober and modest stile plainly set foorth what Ormond did intend, and said nothings in all that peece but what was just and reasonable as now more clearly we see; this worke came to my hands, and haue perused it with much attention, out of wch I haue collected partly some light for my furtherance in this present tractat, and now behold the Bishops (at that time exiled in this Kingdom, to whose Iudgment he submitted that worke) would not haue this wel studied peece to to see either presse, or light, in soe much, that those elucubrations, and labours were set a side and rendered uselesse and fruitlesse to the Nation.

I doubt not but the prelates intended wel, though otherwise fell out, for they were still in a charitable hope and expectation that Ormond

in time would Relent, and doe the nation good, but they, and millions besides theyr Lordships, haue been mistaken in Ormond, whose indignation more and more daylie increasing (not satisfied in the extremities of our woes and calamities) seems rather to rejoyce in the continuation of our afflictions, and annihilation of our persons, then to giue any signe of relentment or hopes of any good; a glorie without honnour.

Never did any Magician charme with spels, or philters any sort of men, more then this Ormond did that harmelesse people, by what art, or fascination is to me unknowne.

In London soe wounderfull was the veneration my Countre-men had to this great man's person, and soe great was theyr zeale to please, and loath in the least to displease him, as even when some begun to apprehend feares and jelousies of sinister proceedings, perceaving things not to goe as they expected, yet not with standing they scarce durst mutter theyr to well grounded feares and suspitions each unto an other, and this continued for a long time, every man was, *sicut mutus non aperiens os suum* in the cause of Religion and countrie, though they haue seen evidently his daylie heapinge of injuries upon the nation: nay some were soe starck blind, and slumbred upon this fatal Duke, as even after he possessed wrongfully theyr estates and fortunes, they were construing all to the best, and supposing some deep misterie of pietie in the man,

and yet could giue noe reason for such theyr vain conjectures and hopes; some in theyr priuat discourses (as if they were deluded by fiends and specters) wid imagin some future good Ormond would doe the nation, this epidemical-dimnis and stupiditie attached the judgment and braines soe firmly of many, that several of them could not be persuaded but Ormond would as yet giue them a day of rejoycement and happiness; I haue been much amazed, and noe lesse perplexst, after seeyng and hearing some of theyr silly and simple expressions, pronounced in theyr priuat confabulations in London, and letters from that cittie to thes parts much to this effect, "Ormond" (said one) "will never betray us, he'il never shrink from us, he is our owne, his intentions are good;" an other said: "Ormond is to Noble to doe soe base an Act, it is not his Kinde to doe unworthie things, "his father and Mother," (quoth the third man) "were constant true Catholicks," (that is indeed true) "was not I beseech you, his grand-father" (said the fourth man) "Walter earle of Ormond, for his devotion stiled Walter of the beads and rosarie? will the child of soe good, soe godly, and vertuous progenitours, deceave the confidence, wee his countremen doe place in him? noe, it cannot be; happie are we that he is soe great with his Majestie, for though he seems at present some what could towards us, and to shake hands with Orrery and the rest of the Cromwelian faction, yet his

hart howeuer is with us , and for us , he may for a time favour theyr wayes , but to stick for good and all to such men , rebellious enimies to the King , and to him selfe , is a thing I can not beleeue , for you must know that Ormond is a wise man , a great politician , you shall see in time how handsomly he will wind himselfe out of theyr clawes."

These and such like idle Sermocinations was theyr discourse , but alack ! thes wise men did but flatter them selves and the time with such frivolous thoughts and conjectures , grounding the fundation of theyr future prosperitie in Ormond's affection to the nation , and his special care of theyr preservation , which was in good earnest but to raise theyr building upon a fundation of sands , or as I may say to build castels in the ayre ; but *sero sapiunt Phryges* , the web is dispelled that couered ouer our eyes , we can , *tandem* , see something , and much like thos that rested long under the Iuniper tree (whose shadow is both noxious and grivous to nature) when they a wake , feele a violent head-ach ; soe we , hauing slept and slumbred long (without due care to our owne preservation) under the noxious shadow of Ormond's apparent affections , at last expected , hauing opned our eyes , we find our head , heart , and whole body in a far worse distemper then they that laid under the Iuniper tree ; our feauer is mounted to a hectical height , partly by our owne carelessness , and cheefly by the improper administration of our physitian

Ormond, who instead of salutiferous potions, deluded us with poyson ; This Noble man haue poysoned (as I may say) the heart of us all (I mean of his Majestie) with toxical counsels, and fallacious informations against us, soe as this poyson possessing the vitals, we are faintinge and must of need perish, if the antidot cordials of his Majestie's goodness, in whom, next to God as the fontaine of mercy and justice, we place all trust and hope, will not affoord us life and comfort, which antidot cordials haue been hitherto (as is evidently Knowne) unjustly detained from us, by the suggestions of Ormond and Clarindon.

CHAPTER II.

A diligent Search off the motifs and reasons, induced Ormond to forsake (since the kings restauration) the Catholicks of Irland, and to stick to the Cromwelians.

WE are now to search out the motifs induced Ormond abandon the Catholicks, and cause moved him to this suddain separation ; whether by ill chance, the Catholicks plotted against his life, person, libertie, or fortunes ? or whether they with-drew first from him, or haue given any occasion or offence sufficient to compel him to

such a repentinous mutation? or whether it was the king's interest (for the better settlement of that kingdom under the crowne) made him fasten hands with them new men, and forsake the old stead-fast friends?

There is noe man will beleue that soe noble a person, soe compleat a states-man, soe much esteemed in court and cittie for gallantrie, and honour, a man soe much cried up for his integritie, and good nature, to be the paramount of thousand, as all his frinds (in the beginning of his power) gaue out of him, then when he begun to haue dealing with the confederate Catholicks; there is not a man, I say would beleue that a person of such unparallelled parts, would deflect soe nastilie in that nature from them without some efficacious ground, and reason.

This unexpected catastrophe, as it suggested matter of admiration to all sort of people, soe it hath struken even dumb his neerest relations, and thes his friends, that most dearely respected him, in soe much as they durst not speake one woord in deffence of this his instabilitie; I am confident his grace wanted not such persons, his close sticklers, men skil'd both in the english and lattin letters (which formerly with heat and zeale were in a readiness to maintaine, by hooke, or crooke, with apparent and seeming ratiocinations his sinistrous doeyings, faults, and faylings) now in this matter they dare not appeare to justifie his running away from the camp of Israel, to

the Phylistin's field, from the association and amitie of honourable and honestly true men (the kings good subjects, and his owne steadfast frinds) to a Cromwelian faction, that heald out soe long in bloudy rebellion against the crowne and royal family; even Father Waylsh himselfe (who beyound all mortals Sacrifices himselfe to Ormond, and who have written soe much of that Noble mans constancie, vertues, and supereminent talents) sits now mute, and silent, he sayes nothing, gives not a word in vindication of his great patron's defection from his friends, alliances, and councitriemen; I perceave the fathers mind and the cause of his silence in this matter, he knowes it is hard for him, *invita Minerva, & pessima existente causa* to lay hand to his pen.

His Grace, the duke himselfe is sensible, there are several inducing and obliginge reasons, for continuing his affection (if he had been soe pleased) and association with the Catholicks of Irland; as may be, the antiquitie, greatness, and Catholick pietie of his familie, and renowned Ancestours for soe many hundred yeares in that Kingdom of Irland, his vast patrimonie, the Noble houses of two Viscounts, three Barrons, and great number of rich, and worthie families of Knights, and Esquires descended lineally from his pedigree, that his Noble brother Mr. Richard Buttler, his vertuous sisters, gallant Ladies, were borne in that land, and have theyr estates and beeing therin, add to this the alliance of

several other peers of the land to his familie ; all which are undeniable and strong inducements, powerfull to move, and bind such a person, or any other to love the Catholicks of Irland and closely fasten unto them, in all theyr just concernments, and undertakings.

In this place I would faine Know, what had Orrery, Monthrath, and the rest of that crue to doe with the house of Ormond? did there by good lucke intervene at any time tuixt theyr families and his, any concatenation of marriages? any relation of consanguinitie? any firme connection of unstained friendship? not that euer or I could heare off; but all to the contrarie, well Knowne they were his deadly enemies, and stared with an envious eye vpon his Lustre and Splendour, who like unto a procerous Cedar they perceaved did overtopp them selves.

His Grace (I suppose) will not say he deserted the Catholicks (whose loyaltie to the crowne of England have been sufficiently Knowne, even to the very rebells themselves) to joyne in friendship, with these freash men (but stale rebells) for better advancing and securing his Majesties interest? certainly a man of my lord's Iudgement (as I am confident) wid blush to pretend any such excuse, or to say soe: my lord of right should a gon with more moderation in soe waightie a matter, and nicely ponder (before pacting friendship with them) whether or noe (they that

have been for soe many yeares , fyrie and sworne enemies to the King and crowne) would at long triall prove worthie of his amitie , or of any other man's else , that had been still faithfull and loyall to the King and crowne ; this my lord neglected to have don , but rather , by his repentinous conjunction of friendship with those well approved and trustie ministers of Cromwel , gave occasion to several wise men to suspect , and thinke that Ormond did not much in heart averse Cromwel , nor dislike of his proceedings , and that which we doe wonder at , is , that all this while we could not see , nor heare by mouth or pen any apologie from this good duke , that may give the world satisfaction for his soe doing.

In my opinion his Grace had good reason to be silent in this matter , and to conceale from the eyes , and eares of men , the cunning motifs , slights , and arcana's that pusshed him on : for to manifest his reasons , were *manifestare errores inexcusabiles suos*. Seeing then that heerin my lord duke is pleased to be silent ; I hope his Grace will give the looser leave to speake , and discover to the world the reasons deduced his Grace from the right roade of vertue , justice , pietie , and honnour , (deserting his trustie old friends) to kint vnexpected new sudden friendship , with his old enemies ; it is to well Knowne to our woe-full experience , he made the worst use a christian noble man could have don , of the power he had from his majestie , in order to the

Catholick interest of Irland striving ; constantly and musing how to subvert , and suppress equitie and justice to our destruction , which have been the cheefest ground induced him to this association , with the Cromwelians , that at once , and along with them he may plunder our houses , fortunes , and estates ; and soe really it fell out , for of all men he had the fattest , fayrest , and greatest share.

The greatness of his person cannot terrifie me from apearing for my countrie , and countrymen , nor from speaking clearly , freely , and plainly the truth , if in case I shall speake , or write any thinge ungroundedly I shall desire some of his learned sticklers take the paynes to answer for him , and confute me , if he can ; (we know his lordship hath more Hierelings , parasites , and flaterers , then true friends , and I beleieve his Grace will find my saying to be true , affore he dyes ; for it will be but the just judgment of God , that he , who deserted his honest and true friends , should be deserted by all ; I could hartily wish in the meane time he had in him these true vertues , that would both merit , and deserve true friends.

For compassing what I haue taken in hand , the right doore and ingresse to my discourse , must be a true and naked relation of Ormonds dealings and transactions , with the Catholicks of Irland since the first vnfortunat day they Knew him ; this will make the reader Know what

manner of man he was, and is, whether of vertue, or vice, love or hatred to the Catholicks of Irland; all wch I wil endeavour Succintly, with candid veritie (soe save me God) to performe, crauing from my benevolous reader the patience off perusing all with attention, and to Suspend his Iudgment till Fully instructed of all that past.

It is not my present intent to stand vpon iustifying the reuolution and warr of that Kingdom, begun the yeare 1641. to which they were forcibly compelled; I haue understood that matter is performed alaredy and soundlie to the purpose, by a skilfuller quill then myne: my present scope is, and will be, to have the reader Know what Ormond did in that warr, and after the warr, and soe I dout not but the reader will be able to passe a free and impartiall Iudgment vpon his Grace, and me; and next whether his desertinge of the Catholicks, and combining with the new men, is or can be Iustifiable and excusable:

To this therefore effect, the reader may understand, that the now duke, (then Earle) of Ormond, at the beginning of this warr, was leutenant General of the Kings forces under the lords justices, Sr. William Parsons and Sr. Iohn Burlace; I passe by how he demeaned him selfe in that high post, either shewing enimitie to the Catholicks, or desiring the revolution should be suppressed: (some say he was for the suppress-

ing off it) let us suppose he did what became a man placed in that office he had , and leave that soe.

CHAPTER III.

Heere is shewen how Ormond was chosen lord lieutenant , and his several cessations made with the confederate Catholics , and vast summes of monys receaved to transport over souldiers for his majesties ; service.

THIS Sr. William Parsons a could , rigid , and wise-man , but an inveterat enemy to the Catholicke religion and Catholicks , at once with Sr. Adam Loftus , Sr. Robert Merideth , Sr. Iohn Temple , and others of the council became much addicted to the House of commons in England (which house began at that time to contest and be at variance with the King) and in good faith made noe other use of his Majesties power and Sword of Iustice in that Kingdom , then to increase and kindle (rather than quench) the flame of that revolution , which they caled a rebellion : heere you are to observe , that the said lords Iustices and aboue specified councillours , though they were disloyal and perfidious to the King , yet the false and pernicious relations thes knaves

gave, and divulged by proclamations of the Irish, that the vniversalitie of the Catholicks of Irland got up into a new rebellion (whereas for one Catholick that was engaged in that revolution, there were thousands in the nation knew nothing off it, even the nobilitie, citties and gentrie of the nation were soe) they were easily beleeeved in that theyr false and Malicious aspersion ; soe that his Majestie did noe lesse call and esteeme us rebelles, then the House of commons in England did ; these men's disaffection to the King, and theyr Treacherie, beyng at lenght discovered, his Majestie recalled theyr commissions, and appointed Ormond lord lieutenant of the Kingdom: after his Excellencie was invested with this new commission and power, the parliament of England more and more growing stroung in hostilitie against the King, and declaring open warr to his Majestie, (which was plain rebellion, not like the painted rebellion of Irland) his Excellency, who had at that time trustie friends in the Councel of the confederat Catholicks, treated with the assembly of said Catholicks, and in their absence, with the fore-said Councel for a Cessation of armes between his Partie and theirs ; to which the Catholicks did Freely and willingly consent, and to that effect graunted and paied over to my lord Lieutenant thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling for to transport over into England some of the Kings forces, to Suppress the rebellion

in that Kingdom ; this free speedy , and loyall contribution of soe vast a summe of monies , in soe seasonable a time , to furnish and pay the Kings souldiers against the rebells of England , was noe signe of rebellious hearts in the Catholicks. As for what these forces ferried over did there , whether they beat the rebells , or were beaten , is not my subject in hand ; I come to my lord of Ormond , who for some yeares continued his capitulations , and treatings with the Catholicks of Irland , and did indeed wijre-draw them to theyr great losse , both to the dishartning of their souldiers , consumption of their treasures , and letting slip great advantages of service ; great matters we expected from Ormond , and noe lesse did our Commissioners tell us ; that he was ready condescend to our demaunds , and graunt us good things , but in the end litle or nothing was don ; not withstanding all this , any thing that seemed to be with the Kings interest , or for the Kings service did much relish with the Catholicks , and soe desirous and forward we were to make peace with any party the King owned to be his owne , as we omitted to pursue vigorously a good warr , and at long running wee made noe good peace for libertie , Religion , Fortunes , or honour of the Nation.

CHAPTER IV.

*Glanmorgans peace rendered voide by the
Kings disavowing any authoritie
given to that effect.*

TWICE we concluded peace by our Commissioners, the one off which have been with the Earle of Glanmorgan, and the other with Ormond: and in fin wee had neither peace, nor the assurance of a peace; the said Earle of Glanmorgan, shewed us under the privat signet a faire and large commission he had from the King, authorizing him to conclude a peace with us, and to graunt us such favourable concessions for religion, as Ormond the Kings Lieutenant (who also had a commission under the great seale) could not Publickly graunt, or be seen in; this peace made with Glanmorgan became voyd and of noe force, the King disavowing any power given to that effect vnto Glanmorgan: you shall find the Kings disavowing of any such power in his booke, commonly caled, *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, pag: the 29: in a message given (as it is written) in our court at Oxford the 29 Ianu: 1645. to the speaker of the house of Peeres *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the Parliament in Scotland.

*His Majesties message of January 29, 1645, about
Ireland, and his Majesties further Con-
cessions, and desire of a personal
treaty; Oxford.*

C. R.

“His Majestie having receaved information from the lord Leutenant and Councel in Ireland, that the Earle of Glanmorgan hath, without his or their orders or priuitie, entered into a treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick partie there, and alsoe drawne vp and agreed vnto certain articles with the said Commissioners highly derogatory to his Majesties honour, and royal dignitie, and most prejudicial vnto the Protestant religion and church there in Ireland: wherevpon the said Earle of Glanmorgan is arrested vpon suspicion of high treason, and imprisoned by the said lord Leutenant and Councel, at the instance and by the impeachment of the lord Digby, who (by reason of his place and former employment in these affaires) doth best know how contrarie that proceeding of the said Earle hath been to his Majesties intentions and directions, what great prejudice it might bring to his affaires, if those proceedings of the Earle of Glanmorgan should be any way vnderstood to have been done by directions, liking or approbation of his Majestie having in his former messages for a personal treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the business of Ireland, hath now thought fitting, the better to

shew his clearer intentions, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his subjects in all his kingdoms, to send his declarations, to his said houses, containing the whole truth of the business which is.

“That the Earle of Glanmorgan having made offer vnto his Majestie to raise forces in the Kingdom of Irland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesties service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

“That he had noe commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privitie, and direction of the lord Lieutenant, much lesse to Capitulat any thing concerning religion; or any propertie belonging either to Church or Laity.

“That it clearly appears by the lord Leutenants proceedings with the said Earle, that he had noe notice at all of what the said Earle had treated, and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, vntill by accident it came to his knowledge.

“And his Majestie doth protest, that vntill such time, as he had advertisement, that the person of the said Earle of Glanmorgan was arrested, and restrained (as is aboue said) he neuer heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earle had entred into any kind of treaty or capitulation with the Irish commissioners: much lesse that he had concluded or signed these articles soe destructive both to Church and State,

and soe repugnant to his Majesties publick professions , and knowne resolution.

“ And for the further vindication of his Majesties honour and integritie heerin , he doth declare , that he is soe far from considering any thing contained in those papers , or writings framed by the said Earle , and those commissioners with whom he treated , as he doth absolutely disavow him therein , and both giuen commandements to the lord Lieutenant and the Councel there , to proceed against the said Earle , as one , who either out of falseness , presumption , or folly , had soe hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties reputation , with his good subjects , and soe impertinently framed those articles of his owne head , without the consent , privitie or directions of his Majestie , or the lord Lieutenant , or any of his Majesties Councel there ; but true it is , that for the necessarie preservation of his Majesties protestant subjects in Irland , whose case was dayly represented vnto him to be soe desperat , his Majestie have given commission to the lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there , as might be for safty of that Crowne , the preservation of the protestant religion , and noe way derogatory to his owne honour and publick professions.”

You see plainly by this his Majesties disavowing letter of any power given to Glanmorgan , as to the effect of peace to be concluded with the confederat Catholicks , how Glanmorgans peace

came to nothing , and of noe validitie , though much labour , paines and monnies it cost to the confederat Catholicks ; and not without great discredit to the said Earle. As for the peace made with Ormond yeare 1646. (who had the Kings commission vnder the great seale) it had noe better issue then the former , as shal be made cleare out of the aboue specified diuine his writings , reasons , arguments , and woords as they are put downe.

And in as much as the Bishops and Cleargy their opposition to that peace , hath drawne vpon them the implacable anger of Ormond ; perusing what I shall write , you shal be able to iudge the reasons given by the Prelats were valid , and themselves honest in their intentions , and vp-right in their proceedings , and that they haue done nothing but what pietie , and the obligation of their pastoral care did require ; consequently you will graunt that the dukes anger , and rancour came by noe offence given by the Bishops , but through his owne heightie mind , which in all matters , and in all occasions must rule and domineere , or will have peace , nor quietness with any man ; this matter comprehending many parts , arguments , and circumstances , I shal be forced to bestow more time about it.

It fell out soe , that the confederat Catholicks appointed certain persons of qualitie as Com-mis-sioners of treaty (they appointed others for preparing instructions for those that were to treat,

whom they named commissioners of instructions) to treat and conclude a peace with Ormond then lord Lieutenant; this done in the yeare 1644. the names of those appointed, were Richard lord viscount of Mongaret, Donogh lord viscount of Musgrie, Sr. Robert Talbot Barronet, Dermot ô Brien, Patrick Darcy, Geffery Browne, and Iohn Dillon Esquires. After a long debate vpon neare two yeares, a peace was at length concluded between them and his Excellency the lord Lieutenant, consisting of thirty articles, which articles (after being perfected, duely and maturely examined by vnderstanding and learned men) were suspected vnsafe for the Chatholicks; this is the subject the mentioned divine handled and soundly Proved, and vpon the same occasion learnedly justified the rejection of that peace out of the arguments, and decrees of the Ecclesiastical congregation.

CHAPTER V.

The rejection of the peace of 1646, made by the Bishops and Cleargy at Waterford maintained and justified; which peace was alsoe voyd for being perfected without authoritie of Ormond's part.

THIS author says, the Bishops and Cleargy allarmed at the publication of the said peace in Dublin, and Kilkennie, and obedience the Citizens and other natives gave therunto, (they saw the Gouvernement was devolved, the supreme Councell of the Nation dissolved, and the forces and armies, and all to be put into the hands of said Ormond lord Lieutenant; the peace (as above was said) being not secure for the cheefest concernments of the Catholicks) convened and came together at Waterford (a noble and Catholick Cittie) the sixt of August 1646. the zeale of Gods house, and of theyr flocks soe requiring, to consider seriously the contents of the Articles of said peace, and ackordingly to determine, as pietie and the safty of Religion, and thir flocks would require at their hands.

“The method (said the Author) the Bishops and Cleargy observed in rejecting said Peace,

and the order of their consultations, was grave, and yet free, giving every divine licence to argue, discourse, and deliver his opinion as to the question proposed; the Chancelour of the congregation taking in the meane time his notes in writing of every mans sense and sentence of the question ventilated, and after a full debate, repeating *viva voce*, the substance of the arguments; they voted with much tranquillitie a result or conclusion, and indeed soe much was said to every of these articles that came vnder debate as nothing was left vnsaid, that could be pertinent."

A love *Principium* was the begining of this Congregation, they publicly sacrificed and prayed with flaming Charitie, and profound humiiltie, demanding from God light and wisdom in this most important affaire that soe touched holy Religion and his divine worship; that he would be pleased to give a Blessing to their worke there: and for the better guiding their Consciences, they seriously perused.

First the oath of association (the rule of warr and peace with the confederat Catholicks,) which could not be contravened by any without perfidiousness, and impietie.

2. The model of Gouvernment.

3. Several remonstrances printed in France, the yeare 1642. Fourthly, our grevances presented at Tryme, March, the 17. 1642. Fifthly, the several acts and protestations made by the Kingdom in open assembly at Kilkennie in the

months of July and August 1645. for the liberties and splendour of Religion , and for the Churches. Sixtly, the 17. propositions exhibited to his Majestie, yeare 1644. Seaventhly , the further addition and propositions after propounded to the lord Marques of Ormond.

All these things they examened with great deliberation, and attention, being the rules laid downe by the whole Kingdom for regulating the committie of treaty, as alsoe the committie of instructions for the said treaty, and all others to whom any charge was intrusted.

They began with the important propositions the committie of treaty for the peace, were to present vnto the Lord Marquez of Ormond Lieutenant Generael of Irland, for and in behalfe of the confederat Catholicks of Irland, for coucluding a peace: those propositions were the cheefe rules they were bound to observe in that treaty.

1. One proposition was, that the Roman Catholick both Cleargy and Laity haue and enjoy the free and publick exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion throughout that Kingdom, as it was in the raigne of Henry the 7. or any other Catholick King his predecessours Kings of England, and Lords of Irland, had either in England or Irland.

2. That the secular Roman Cleargy of Irland, viz: Primats, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archideakens, and other dignitaries, Persons, Vicars, and all other

Pastors of the secular Cleargy, and their respective successours, shall have and enjoy all and every of them all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and immunities in as full and ample manner as the Roman Catholick Cleargy had or enjoyed within this Realme at any time during the raigne of the late King Henry the 7. of England and Lord of Irland, any declaration of law, laws, statute, power or any authoritie to the contrarie not with standing.

3. That all laws and statutes made since the time of King Henry the 8. whereby any restreinght, penaltie, mulct, or incapacitie, or other restriction what-soever is or may be laid vpon any of the Roman Catholicks, either of the Cleargy, or laity, for such the said exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion within this Kingdom, and of their several functions, jurisdictions, and Priviledges, may be repealed, revoked, and declared voyd in the next Parlament by one or more acts of Parlament to be passed therin.

4. That the Primats, Bishops, Archbishops, Ordinaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancelours, Treasurers, Chanters, prevosts, Guardians of Collegial Churches, Prebendaries, and other dignitaries Persons, Vicars, and other Pastors of the Roman Catholick Cleargy and their respective successours shall have, hould, and enjoy all the Churches and church livings in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant Cleargy respectively enjoyed the same in

the first day of Septem. 1641, together with all their rights, profits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties to their respective Seas, and Churches belonging as well in all places now in the possession of the confederat Catholicks, as alsoe all other places that shall be recovered by the confederat Catholicks, from the adverse partie within this Kingdom saving to the Roman Catholick ~~Le~~ay, and their respective rights ackording to the lawes of the land.

The Roman Catholick Regular Cleargy of the Kingdom were to have and hould the Bodyes, sites, and precincts of their Abbeys, Monasteries, and churches &c.

These foure propositions were sworne by the Confederat Catholicks in a general Assembly to be insisted vpon, and obtained vpon any treaty of peace, otherwise that they would not lay downe their armes while they had power and abilitie to maintaine the warr. Now said foure Propositions or matters (soe sworne to be insisted vpon) were not granted in the 30 Articles of 1646 (as above is cleare and manifest) nor as much as presented or vrged, as the Commissioners themselves did confess, which seems a breach of trust in those of the Committe of Treaty, who were obliged to present and vrge said propositions; certaine I am that one of the most vnderstanding of that Committie tould me, it was but meere folly to present and offer them, for that Ormond was noe way content to consent,

or give way to them, nor even to Glanmorgan's concessions it selfe, which were of far lesser importance for Religion and Nation, then the above four propositions; and that for this reason they said nothing of foresaid propositions; nor of Glanmorgan's concessions vntil after signature of the 30 Articles; they then desired Glanmorgan's concessions should be at once printed and published with the 30. Articles as contained and comprised in one of them, to witt, the Article "of his Majesties gracious favour and further concessions," (which is as I remember the first Article of all) but my lord of Ormond absolutly denied said concessions of Glanmorgan should be published at once with the 30 Articles, and that he had nothing to doe with Glanmorgan's treaty or concessions. Of the above foure propositions the cheefest things to be vrged and insisted vpon, according the instructions they had, they sayd nothing to Ormond. After this followeth a title in *hæc verba*.

*How the commitie of treaty demeaned themselves in concluding the peace of
1646 with Ormond.*

THE Commitie (saith this Divin) confessed, they vpon concluding the peace of thirty Articles relied principally vpon Glanmorgan's concessions, as to the libertie and exercise of Religion, and as to the establishment and securitie therof,

and they conceived the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions were included in these articles of 1646, and made of equal force with them; whereas the benefit of said Glanmorgan's concessions is rather waved and renounced in said Articles of 1646: those Commissioners of Treaty sayes Glanmorgan's concessions are included vnder these words of the first of the 30 Articles, "further concessions granted, or to be granted by his Majestie." But you are to observe that all a long vpon the debate of the peace of 46. they never made (as above said) as much as mention to my lord of Ormond of Glanmorgan's concessions to be included and to be of equal force with the 30. Articles; it is true after signature of said 30. Articles they moved his Excellency of Glanmorgan's concessions, but he told them plainly he never meant by the Article of further concessions, that the Catholicks thereby should have the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions.

Behould how the greatest matter, that could concerne the Catholicks, (the matter of Religion) was handled by the Commitie of Treaty, to wit, the foure propositions above mentioned, and Glanmorgan's concessions, (the basis vpon which the Catholicks relied for Religion, and splendor thereof, immunities, liberties, Churches, and church-livings) committed to them to be insisted vpon; now in all the time of said treaty, and debate with his Excellency about the 30. Articles, not one word was spoken of said propositions and

concessions nor at the very time of signature and perfection of the 30. Articles : as if they had been of soe litle worth as they merited not to be moved once , being notwithstanding the principal part of their trust. Did they think by silencing them in time of Treaty to steale them vpon my lord of Ormond, he was to wise to be soe gulled , or did they meane by not moving them , to leave them for a seede of a new warr when the King in Parliament should denie us the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions , and of those other propositions and things , as in my opinion he could rationally doe , they being not articted and agreed vpon in the 30. Articles perfected by Ormond, by vertue of his commission vnder the great seale , and consequently not obliging the King as a matter contained included , and perfected in the said 30. Articles ? what answer then can the commitie make for themselves as to the foure propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions not spoken of in the time of treaty ? how could the benefit of them be obtained in Parliament , when the peace of 46. should be ratifyed and made good to the Nation ? Ormond would denie in open Parliament any consent given by him to such concessions or propositions , or that they had been as much as moved to him or proposed vpon time of treaty , or perfecting the 30. Articles ; now it is cleare that in contracts nothing can be claimed , but what is don by the consent of the parties contracting.

Heere our Commitie of treaty is in a labirinth

for obtaining the four propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions in Parliament, what they affirme, Ormond stiffly denies, (and groundedly) for who will say he consented to concessions or propositions never mentioned or vrged during the treaty, nor at the time of perfecting the 30. Articles? what shall the King determine in this dispute and difference: what other but denie the benefit of said propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions for not being consented vnto by his commissioner Ormond? what then will the Catholicks of Irland doe? either they must content themselves with Ormond's peace of 30. Articles, and goe without the benefit of both the propositions and said concessions (the best and principal ground and securitie for Religion) or else they must make warr with the king for obtaining them, wheras vntill then they have never warred against his Majestie.

Heere have I given you nakedly the deportment of the commitie of Treaty, with the nature, substance, and qualitie of that peace of 46. altogether vnsecure and unsafe for Catholick religion, and all the interrest of the Nation.

Now if in case that said Commitie of treaty for concluding of peace swarued from any of the rules and instructions given them (as indeed they have don) what they acted can noe way oblige either the Cleargy or the people to their owne overthrow and destruction; it were a hard case for a common wealth, if persons by her im-

powered, with trust, and not performing the same trust, could bind the common-wealth to Acts prejudicial and destructive both to their preservation, interrest and libertie, as many of those 30. Articles were to doe.

CHAPTER VI.

*The opinion of two famous lawyers vpon the
peace of Glanmorgan, and that of
Ormond, with the final result
and iudgement of the Pre-
lats after examening the
said peace of 30
Articles.*

WE are in this place to see what the Congregation did, with their divins. After making a sound ponderation vpon the above foure Propositions, and other Acts and Ordinances of the several assemblys of that Kingdom, they came to a mature examination of the 30. Articles, above mentioned, and for their surer and better vnderstanding of all, made vse of the advise and counsell of the two eminentest, and famous lawyers of the land, who made certaine sound observations vpon that peace and concessions of

Glanmorgan , the substance of those observations is digested into four Articles.

1. That the Committie of treaty waved the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions, by not onely not insisting vpon them, but not soe much as proposing them, during the treaty with my lord Lieutenant, which was contrarie to the trust and charge laid vpon them by the Kingdom.

2. A publick faith given by the Kingdom to the lord Nuntio and Cleargy to make Glanmorgan's concessions, and all conditions for Churches and Religion, as publick, as valid, and of as much force as that of the temporal, was not performed.

3. That the king did disavow Glanmorgan's concessions, soe as they became vtterly therby void, for which reasons the Cleargy were to provide for themselves by other wayes.

4. Vpon the perclosing of those observations, the said lawyers hath this ensueing language. If the case of reference to further concessions, granted in the agreement of said 30. Articles can not extend to what the lord Lieutenant publickly disauoued, and as wee vnderstand (on the very perfection of said 30. Articles) he before witnesses, expressed, to witt that the said clause of further concessions in his peace was not meant by him to extend to Glanmorgan's concessions, shall then the securitie of Religion and Churches in all the Kingdom depend on a matter that hath soe many doubts in it?

Besides if those 30. Articles concluded with Ormond had any matter of moment in them for Religion, before perfection of them, the King reuoked the lord Lieutenant's commission, and by this all goes to ground, for without authoritie he could not perfect articles. This revocation is in print and expressed in a letter from his Majestie to the Marquez of Ormond Iune the 11. 1646, as followeth :

“ C. R.

“ Right trusty &c. having long with much grief looked vpon the sad condition our Kingdom of Irland hath been in these divers yeares, through the wicked and desperat rebellion there, and the bloody effects have insued there vpon. For the settling where-of wee would have wholly applyed our selves, if the difference betwixt vs and our subjects heere, had not diverted, and withdrawn us, and not having beene able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, wee were necessitated for the present safty of our Protestant subjects there, to give you power and authoritie to treat with them, vpon such pious, honorable, and safe grounds as that our kingdom did then require; but for many reasons to long for a letter wee thinke fit to require you to proceed noe further in treaty with the rebells, nor to ingage vs upon any condition with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such reall proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, wee

doubt not of your care in this wherein our service and the good of our Protestant subjects in Irland is soe much concerned. from Newcastle Iune the 11. 1646."

This letter was receaved by Ormond before perfecting of the 30. Articles, where fore said articles can be of noe force. what remedy then can be had? what healp to make the 30. Articles valid? they said Digby brought some thing in Cypher to incourrage the Lord Leutenant, and what then? shall wee rely upon a cypher, and gett noe better securitie for our Religion, and Churches, for our liues, fortunes and estates, then the relying upon a cypher? this were in good earnest to make a peace in Cypher.

Heere I haue given you the sence of the two famous lawyers upon the 30. Articles; one of those for his abilities was well known to the learnedest juges of England and Irland, was a Counsellor to Ormonds familie, and one that knew as much of the ground and cause of our quarrel and of all that passed in the Assembly, Councel and several commities as any who som-ever in the Kingdom.

By what is said you see Ormonds commssion was reuoked before perfecting the said peace of 30. Articles (which shall be more expressly made cleare hereafter) and did not Excellencie knowing this, play fooly with the confederat Catho-licks? what then did he intend by intruding

this peace vpon us ? what other but to cheat and deceave us by getting from us vpon consideration of such a peace (as in effect he did) all our forts, citties, townes, armes, armies, and nauvy vnder his owne command, and by dissoluing our association and gouernement ; was not this a handsom tricke and plott for vndoeing us taking away all our defense for noe other consideration then that of those plaistred articles perfected without any commission, that could and lightly would be disavoued in Parlament by his Majestie, as concluded without his authoritie, and consequently wee should gaine noe grace nor pardon by them.

After the Bishops and other ordinaries, and diuins, had well considered these things, and more particularly the result of the two renowned lawyers, who were especial leading-men in the common-wealth ; after long debate, and learned arguments, great diligence, search and paines, they found it evident, that Religion, estates, lives, liberties, and saftie of the Catholicks, lay open to danger, notwithstanding the 30. articles agreed vpon with Ormond by the commitie of treaty (who discharging not the trust laid vpon them by failing to pursue the instructions giuen them, as aboue was said) and finding all the citties, townes, forts Garrisons, armie, ships, magazins, and the strenght of the Catholicks to be rendered vp to the lord Leutenant (as some of them already was) and the supream Councel had by that time ceded their authoritie, and

submitted to the said peace, which had been (as was said) proclaimed and published solemnly by the Kings-at-arms in Dublin and Kilkennie, and that the lord Lieutenant come from Dublin gallantly attended by many hundreds of prime Gentlemen, was then at Kilkenny and began to gouverne according the articles of the peace; the Bishops (I say) and Cleargy naked and without any garde other then the protection of God, and affection of good Catholicks, after invoking the name of the most high, came to a final result, which was the insueing decree, which they put foorth, and caused to be published to the Catholicks over the Kingdom.

*Per congregationem Ecclesiasticam vtriusque
cleri hibernici, in Spiritu Sancto congregatam
Waterfordiæ coram Illustrissimo D: Archiepiscopo, FIR-
MANO Nuntio Apostolico
extraordinario in
Iberniam.*

“ Super quæstione inter nos orta, & per multos dies exagitata, an perjuri declarandi essent, qui pacem contentam triginta articulis ad nos a supremo Concilio transmissis, acceptarent, & successiué, an tanquam perjuri forent excommunicandi? auditis prius singulorum sententiis, & rationibus, lectisque aliquorum sacræ theologiæ doctorum scriptis, decretum est vnanimi

consensu, & singulorum votis nemine contradicente, quod omnes & singuli confæderati Catholici, qui simili paci adhæreunt, vel ejus fautoribus consentient, aut alio modo illam amplectentur, perjuri absolutè habendi sint, ea præcipuè de causa, quod in iis articulis nulla facta est mentio Catholicæ Religionis, ejusque securitatis, nec vlla habita ratio conseruationis priuilegiorum Patriæ, sicuti juramento legitur promissum, sed potius omnia referantur ad arbitrium Serenissimi Regis, a quo in presenti rerum statu nihil certi potest haberi, & interim subiciantur exercitus, arma, & munimenta, ipsumque supremum Concilium confederatorum Catholicorum, authoritati & dominio Concilii status suæ Majestatis & officialium protestantium, a quibus, vt securi fieremus, juramentum illud suscepimus. Ex quibus & ex pluribus aliis causis sola nostra conscientia mori, solumque Deum præ oculis habentes, vt notum sit vniversis & singulis tum Ibernis, tum exteris, tali pace nos non dedisse, nec daturos consensum, nisi pro Religione, Rege & patria juxta nostrum juramentum securæ conditiones apponantur; & vt Greges nostri confæderatique omnes Catholici, qui in generalibus comitiis aliquando in hoc Spirituali negotio, velut ad Ecclesiasticum judicem vnice spectante, sententiam nostram rogauerunt, certo sciant quod a nobis determinatum fuerit, vt in eum sensum tanquam pii & fideles Catholici pastoribus suis obedientes concurrant.

Hoc decretum scribi, & vbique locorum anglicâ vel etiam Ibernica lingua publicari jussimus, & manibus ac sigillis nostris firmavimus. Alteram verò quæstionem de Excommunicatione ad proximas sessiones referuamus. Datum Waterfodiæ die 12, Aug: anno 1646."

"Ioannes Baptista Archiepiscopus FIRMANVS & Nuntius Apostolicus.

Fr. Thomas Archiepiscopus Dublin: Hiberniæ Primas.

Thomas Archiepiscopus Casseliensis

Fr. Boetius Episcopus Elphin:

Ioannes Episcopus Loanensis

Franciscus Episcopus Aladensis

Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis

Fr. Patricius Episcop. Waterford: & Lismor:

Ioannes Clonfertensis Episcopus:

Fr. Edmundus Episcopus Lacklin:

Richardus Adfertensis & Accadem: Episcop:

Edmundus Episcop: Limericensis

Emerus Episcop: Clocheren:

Fr. Iacobus Abbas Benchorensis

Fr. Patricius Abbas B. M. Dublin

Fr. Laurentius Abbas de surio,

Fr. Iacobus Abbas de S. Cruce,

Fr. Iacobus Tobin Abbas de Kilcoole,

Robertus vicarius Apostol: Rossen:

Donaldus Vicarius Funiborensis

Fr. Gregor: Prior Prouinc: Ord: Prædicat:

Fr. Dionisius Prior Prouinc: Erim: S. Aug.

Edmundus ô Theige Procur : Illustriss : D. Armach :

Walterus Vicar : Apost : Tuamens :

Guilelmus Vicar : Apost : Imolacen :

Iacobus Vicar : Generael : Kildar :

Cornelius Vicar : General : Ardensis

Oliverius Vicar : General : Meden :

Dominicus Vicar : General : Corcagien :

Simon Vicar : General : Cluanensis

Edmundus Vicar : General : Clowensis

Cornelius Vicar : General : Cluan :

Robertus Superior Societ : Iesu

Fr. Antonius Procurator Provinc : FF : Minorum

Fr. Barnabas Commiss : Gener : Capuci :"

These are the names of such as sate in the Ecclesiastical congregation of both the Irish cleargy secular and regular in true spirit of the Holy Ghost conuened at Waterford before the most Illustrious and most Reuerend Archbishop Firmanus Nuntio Apostolical in Irland.

The decree is thus Englished :

"As to the question betwixt vs moued , and for many dayes discussed whether such as would accept of that peace contained in the 30. articles, remitted vnto vs from the supreme Councel , are to be declared perjurious , and consequently whether as perjurious they are to be excommu-

nicated : wee having first given care to each ones opinion and sentiment in this matter , as alsoe hauing read the writings of some doctors of Diuinitie , it is decreed , and by each ones vote in particular (none contradicting) that all and euery one of the confederat Catholicks , that will adhere to such a peace , or consent to the furtherers therof , or in any other manner or way will embrace the same , shall be absolutly as perjurious esteemed , cheefly in as much , as there is noe mention made in them 30 articles , nor prouision for the Catholick Religion , or safty therof , nor any respect had for the preservation of the Kingdom's priuileges , as were promised in the oath of association , but to the contrary all remitted and referred to the Kings will and pleasure , from whome (as the case stands at present with his Majestie) noe certainty of things can be had or expected , yet in the meane time all the armes , armies , fortifications , even the very supreme Council of the confederat Catholicks are and is to be subjected to the authoritie and rule of his Majesties Council of State , and protestant officers ; from whom that wee may be safe and secure , wee have taken that oath.

“ Out of which and several other reasons wee (moved therunto by our only conscience , having God . before our eyes) would have it known to all , and to each person , and persons as well of the Irish natiues , as to forrain nations , that wee gave noe consent , nor will any to such a peace ,

if they will not grant vs further, surer and safer conditions for our Religion, our King and Countrie according to our oath of association; and to the end our flocks (all the confederat Catholicks) who in their general assemblies required our sentence, in this spiritual matter appertaining to vs onely as Ecclesiastical Iudges, may know for certain what is by vs determined herein, and sa godly and faithfull Catholicks obeying their Pastors, may concurre with vs: wee have ordered this decree to be written and published each where both in the English and Irish tounge. Given under our hands, and sealed with our proper seales. The other question of Excommunication wee reserve to next sessions. Given at Waterford the 21. of August 1646.”

This Decree was the principal worke of the Congregation, after which they writ to the Citties and townes in the Catholick quarters, to the Generals of the Armies, and some other principal officers, and to seuerall other noble men, warning them of the danger and insecurities of said peace, adhorting all to concurre and joyne with them in rejecting the same peace, and at the same time they writ the ensuing letter to the lord president and members of the late supreme Councel residing at Kelkennie.

“Right honorable after a serious debate with Mr. Plunket and Mr. Darcy desiring and hoping for a good understanding between vs (whereby the vnion and true peace of the Kingdom may

be preserved) wee conceaued and drew up the inclosed declaration and propositions containing our true sense of the late peace, and our iust demands for a sufficient prouision, and securitie for the Catholick Religion, churches, liues, liberties and estates of the confederat Catholicks of this Kingdom, praying we may with all conuenien speed receaue your answers (which if not timely returned, wee shall find our selues obliged in conscience to let our declaration and propositions be made publick) with our best wishes, wee rest your Honnours louing frinds. Waterford. 24. August 1646. by command of the lord Renuccini Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, Apostolical Nuncio, and of the Ecclesiastical Congregation of both the secular and Regular Clergy of Irland. *Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis Cancellarius Congregationis.*"

The superscription was. "For the Right Honorable the lord Mongarret and the rest of the late supreme Council."

The declaration mentioned in the aboue letter (which was printed) doth manifest what past vpon the examination of the peace of 30. Articles, and of the aboue mentioned matters, with our sense and judgment vpon all, our prayers and fatherly commands to our flocks ouer the kingdom, and to the Generals and other officers and soldiers to haue nothing to doe with that peace; the propositions mentioned in said letter were expedients offered by the Congregation for securing

the Catholick Religion, liues liberties and estates of the Catholicks.

One (and that a principal proposition) that Glanmorgans concessions ypon which the comitie of Treaty relyed as to Religion) should be made as valid publick as the 30. articles, and of the same force with them for the benefit and satisfaction of the Catholicks. Ormond, (who was then in Kelkennie when the mentioned letter was receaued by the supreme Council) answered he had noe power to consent to such concessions, nor as much as to add any article to the 30. articles, his Commission (by vertue of which he had concluded said 30. articles with them) being expired, yet he promised all the frindly offices that lay in his power, and all mediation with the king for the satisfaction of the Catholicks, which was noe securitie nor satisfaction to the Catholick Prelats.

The supreme Council, after receauing the mentioned declaration and propositions, employed Sr. Lucas Dillon knight and Gerrat Finnel Esquire (both of the Council) with Thomas Tirel and Laurence Dudal esquires, adding to them Nicolas Plunket and Patrick Darcy esquires (who were in Waterford before) both members of the Council, to offer certain proposals for satisfying the Bishops, and cleargy, to the end forsaid peace of 30. articles might be vnanimously by them and the rest accepted; these gentlemen were humanly receaued and

listened vnto by the lord Nuncio and Bishops of Clonferry and Fernes, (which two were chosen by the congregation to attend on the lord Nuncio in that affaire) after all was heard and considered of, and all they said represented to the Congregation, there was nothing of securitie found as to Religion and churches.

Heere it is to be particularly observed, that the Lord Leutenant Ormond vpon a sudden departed from Kelkennie to Dublin like a man possessed by some feare, when Sir Luke and the rest were vpon their way to Waterford, which departure of his prescinded all expectation of giving such securitie and satisfaction as the Bishops and Cleargy expected. Heer vpon the Congregation tould Sir Lucas and the rest of the Gentlemen, there was noe other way remaining for satisfying all good men, then to summon of new a General Assembly of the confederat Catholicks, and there and then to have the 30. articles of 46. more nicely examened, and by them to be recepted, or rejected as pleased the prudence of the whole Catholick Assembly.

This is a candid and ample account I give you out of the mentioned divin of the propositions and proceedings of the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in Waterford, to the end (that all their transactions there and then rightly pondered and vnderstood) they may appeare to the world (as really they are) innocent and blamelesse as acting nothing therin, but what the dictamen

of their conscience led them vnto, touching the 30. articles.

It is by this manifestly known how Ormonds mercenarie pens, and others vpon their suggestions (without any search or examination) haue both bitterly spoken and written of these Bishops, and of all the cleargy for putting a side that peace; one of which (and that wrote bitterly) was F. Peeter Wailsh, who censured them grieuously for soe doeing, though at the same time, this Congregation sate, this friar was as much against the said 30. articles and Ormond, as another; how he came to Change his mind, and writ for Ormond against the Bishops and Cleargy, I know not, neither to this day hath he given any ground or reason, nor is able to doe, for that his instabilitie; and if in case he had apparently given, yet noe regard ought to be had by any good and Zealous Catholick, of what he sayes, in as much as he lyes vnder the curse of an excommunication major (as I haue said in the Preface) pronounced against him by a general Chapter of his owne order, against whom he most rebelliously stands out refusing submission to them.

I hope these things well considered the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in Waterford will loose noe esteeme in the sight of good impartial Christians, but rather be commended for their zeale and fortitude in Gods cause; wee are not to feare fire nor sword, nor the graetness of men, when

wee speake for God and his glorie. *Loquebar* (saith the divin psalmist) *de testimonijs tuis in conspectu regum & non confundebat.*

This diuin by me aboue cited protested before God and his Angels, that the Bishops and Cleargy had noe intention to offend Ormond in that proceeding, or to blemish his honnor in the leaste but they were much vnsatisfied with the Comiti, of Treaty, for neglecting and not performing the trust laid vnto their charge; by which protestation you see the Bishops gave noe cause to Ormond to depart Kelkennie for Dublin, nor as much as thought of his goeing, or suspected in the least that he would be gon, but his owne conscience whyspered various thoughts vnto him: soe that *vere trepidabat timore ubi non erat timor.* He trembled with feare where there was noe occasion of feare: howeuer since this great man departed for Dublin, he fostered an inveterat odium against the Bishops and Cleargy swearing and protesting he will be avenged of that stinking creuw (soe he is heard to call them); which vnusuall forme of speech to an intire, and of an intire body of Bishops, vertuous, learned, and honorable men, (divers of them being noblie descended.) If this be I say a language beseeming a noble man of Ormonds qualitie, or rather the language of a rash, profane, and insolent person, let any discreet man iudge.

CHAP. VII.

The Calumnies and aspersions cast by Fa. Wailsh vpon the Congregation of Iamestowne, and especially that of forcing the Lord Lieutenant out of the Kingdom, confuted; and their proceedings justified.

FOUR yeares after this Congregation of Waterford, an other convened in Iamestowne (a litle towne in Conaght) two yeares after the second peace concluded with Ormond in the yeare 1648, by the vnanimous consent of the Kingdom: Ormond kept a great stirr with this Congregation, and Fa. Wailsh (who busied himselfe still and always in verifying of Ormonds doeings) must needs write vnhandsomly of that venerable congregation, saying (in his litle printed booke, he calls by the name of "the more ample accompt. pag: 105) that vnfortunat and fatall Congregation gave a scandal which aspersed them, and aspersed not them, and the whole Irish Cleargy alone, but euen their Communion and Religion in its total extent, specially through these Nations. Further he says, they rendred the Catholicks vncapable of any mercy intended by the King for tender consciences; that great

argument being (saith he) the Irish rebellion in 41, the opposition and reiection of the peace of 46, with all the circumstances and consequents of euer since the fatall worke of Waterford Congregation: the opposition likewise made by a very considerable part of the Cleargy and people to the peace of 48, and the Cleargy's rendring it at last fruitless (euen I say after a general reception of, and submission to it) by the declaration made, and censure issued at Iamestowne, and by the indeuours before and afther that last vnfortunat meeting of the Bishops; finally their twice forcing, or at least putting a necessitie on his Majesties Leutenant to depart the Kingdom."

The diuin (who justified the casting away of the peace of 46) answered Wailsh in this kind. 'This fa: shewed himselfe presumptuous and to 'buissie in censuring the Cedars and Pillars of 'the Church, to whom he ought to bow his head 'for reuerence, and would haue done soe, had 'he been a true and humble child of S. Francis, 'all he haue said, or can say, will come to noe 'thing, and his arguments will be found of noe 'more strenght then a wauering reed, (such a thing 'he is) for hauing plaid Iack on both sides; will he 'dare say he had more piety then all the Bishops and 'Cleargy of the Kingdom? more learning then they 'all in one body? more loue to the flocks and people? 'more fidelitie to the King? more interrest in the 'nation? or had he better knowledge of what past 'since the making the peace of 48, till the meeting

'of Iamestowne, then they all? what authoritie, 'power or comission had he to iudge the decrees 'of Bishops and Cleargy? he should rather have 'listened to Seneca's advise, *si iudicas, cognosce*, 'know affore you iudge, he knew not the grounds 'the Bishops went vpon, and consequently gaue 'an erronious iudgment; there needs noe other 'reasons, or arguments for convincing him then 'the view of the acts and Decrees of the said 'congregation: in calling the congregation fatall and vnfortunat, he shews neither education or breeding towards these two venerable meetings.'

He is erroneously mistaken in saying they gaue cause of scandall to the people; as for the reuolution of 41. it hath been justified a holy and lawfull war, by a skilfull and learned pen: the Acts of the Congregation of Iamestowne alsoe haue been made good and maintained by what I haue writen, and was not yet answered by Fa: Wailsh; the peace of 48 was not rendred (as he pretends maliciously) fruitlesse by those of Iamestowne, or the people: the Irish Comissioners haue sufficiently proued this in London before his Majestie and Counsel. Besides the Bishops neuer intermeddled in that peace, hauing still esteemed the same as a pretious iewel of the Kingdom dearly bought, and such as euery man desired to performe, it hath been already sufficiently proued that they did not render these Articles fruitlesse; but Fa: Wailsh sayes, they rendered them fruitless by putting a necessitie

(which is the second proposition objected against them) vpon the Lord Lieutenant to part the Kingdom, and this wee alsoe denie; Fa: Wailsh will find noe such decree of ours to that purpose: if his Excellency was able to doe any good in the extreme condition wee were in, why did not he stay? the obligation of being Lord Lieutenant would haue him stay, and this was not taken from him, the truth is he was not able by his staying to face the enemie, or defend what as yet was in the King's possession, and this it made him goe away, ashamed and confounded to have lost vs all wee had in our possession, when he made the peace with vs, and that he saw noe way of regaining the places lost, this made him leaue the Gouvernment with the Lord Marques of Clanricard, when he saw evidently all was goeing to wrack; they say it is a secret instinct of rattes to leaue houses that are like to goe to ruine, or vessells that are to be drowned: this truth we haue found by experience; the Lord Lieutenant had a stronger ground for leauing Irland, then the secret instinct of these smal beasts, reason made him euidently know that Irland was to be soon lost, (his coming to vs was a great, if not the only cause of this vnrecoverable losse) and that destruction was approaching their doores: shall I make this manifest? First there was noe mony, nor treasure to pay the soldiers, which did not vse to fight without good pay, though our cause for fighting was the best

in the world, for liues, liberties, fortunes, estates, and religion; wee had good experience of this, and wee neuer saw in any countrie soldiers soe wel paid; now cleare it is, there was noe way for paying, ergo noe fighting to be expected; secondly there was noe amunition of poulder far defending the places wee had, nor for field service; would men (thinke you) expose themselues as marks to the enemie, expresly to be killed without any defense? Thirdly there was noe revenue, or rents to be had for supporting in the future the souldrie, officers, traine of Artillerie, pensions for Commissioners of trust, and other necessarie Commissioners attending the Armie and publick: this truth is cleare out of the Gentlemen Commissioners at London, to witt, "that there was noe towne or considerable place when his Excellency did depart, in his Majesties hands, but Limerick and Galway, and the Counties of Galway and Clare, the other parts of Connaght being wast, and the rest of the Kingdom lost; all which (as they auerre) happened before the proceedings of that part of the Cleargy mett at Iamestowne, as was said before. Fourthly there was noe expectation of ayde from any part of the world."

In this place I shall desire my Lord of Ormond or Fa: Wailsh for him to name me any person, Lord, Gentleman, Citizen, marchand or yeoman, that would giue at that time by way of lone, or gift vnto the publick any thing? what

hopes then had my Lord Lieutenant of any substance to maintaine the war? they will say there remained as yet the Citties Limerick and Galway, and in these were many rich men; but let him tell me who was able to get these riches; the Lord Bishop of Limerick? noe; the Arch-bishop of Tuam ordinarie of Galway? noe; the Commissioners of trust; nor those, noe nor all the Bishops and Clergy of the Kingdom with them; nor my Lord Lieutenant himselfe; in whose face they shut their gates: I confess my Lord Lieutenant had his faction in Limerick (though the maior and honnester part were against him) the recorder Stackpole a rotten fellow, his Creaghs, Whites, Macnemarras and Fenells, all these did not prouide the least in way of loane or otherwise: they painted honnest men in ill collours, and tould his excellency vnder hand, they were to be suspected, and feared; but at last they them selues proued traitours and knaues, and these they would haue suspected, proued honnest men, true to God, king and countrie; tell me (I beseech) who were they, who fouly betrayed Limerick to Irton, after many months noble resistance, were they of the lord Leutenants faction; or of those adhered to the cleargy? they were the lord Leutenants people, the aboue named, who betrayed the towne and bloud of innocents: who were they Irton put to death? they were those adhered to the cleargy and Kingdom, Terence O'Brien Bishop of Emilie (the

Bishop of the towne escaped narrowly) Sr. Geffery Galloway, Geffery Barron, an ornament to his country; Mr. Dominick Faunin Alderman, Mr. Thomas Stritch Alderman a right honnest man; Mr. Higgens Doctor in physick, and fa: Laurence Wailsh priest, these were all put to death by Irton: Hugo Neale a man nobly borne, and who stoutly before defended Clonmel, taken prisoner was sent to London, committed to the tower, and had suffered but that he proued himselfe Alien born in Flanders, though of Irish parents: did any Creagh or White or Stackpole &c. dye or suffer that day? noe, but Irton one of the kings great murtherers struck dead those he thought loued the king, what noise then doth this giddy friar keape about Ormonds departing the Kingdom, and must stone to death all the Bishops and cleargy for hauing (as he says, but falsly) forced Ormond away? and if he had stayed, let him tell me, what could he doe more then the marquez of Clanricard haue done, whome he left in trust with the Gouverment? he was not able to doe soe much, and this father, and all the Kingdom knew it, and this indeed made him part the Kingdom: let then any tell me doth not Fa: Wailsh speake against his conscience, when he pretends the Bishops did force the Lord Lieutenant away; again let this father tell me would not the people that obeyed his excellency's orders, commands, and letters at Loaghreagh, and who vexed much for his sake

the Bishops and Cleargy for what was done at Iamestowne, and for having indeauoured to doe them all good: did not these in that Assemblie disclaime in, and seeme to detest the proceedings at Iamestowne to pleasure his excellencie (I meane the major part, but not the sounder part of them) would not these people keepe him, if he had been pleased to stay? nor did the Prelats intend to cross there the major vote of the Assembly, for all their decrees, and excommunications were {made with this limitation, that the Assembly whensoever they were pleased to meet, could dispose of all things in order to their owne preservation; and consequently could of the matter of the Lord Lieutenant's goeing or staying: and would not they who soe adhered to him, stand or fall with his excellency? to fall they were sure had he stayed; and some of them knew he went expresly away that he might not be spectatour of soe great a fall and ruine, as that of a Kingdom.

I confess ingeniously the Bishops and cleargy at Iamestowne wished my lord would goe away, and why? for grudg or spleen to his person? certainly they had noe such thoughts, but they foresaw the ruine and destruction of the people could not be auoyded he staying with them, and his before God was their feare and judgement of him, and there could not be in the world a more evident presumption for judging and fearing, as they did, and for this reason (though not

certaine his departure would cure the dangerous distemper of the Kingdom) some hopes they had, that the vnion of the People would be greater, and courage, and more cheerfully contribut to their owne preservation; this was really the intention and mind of that congregation, which I knowingly doe speake; let Fa: Wailsh put in print what propositions or dreames he pleaseth, or build castles in the ayre for excusing Ormond. This well grounded feare of theirs, and the desire they had of the Peoples preservation, moved them to write to his Excellencie in an humble manner that he would be pleased to take a viage for France to the Queen and Prince (now King whom God preserve) for to get aydes and succour, and to leave the Goverment in some trusty hand; with this letter they sent the Bishop of Drommore (a great frind of Ormond's) and Charles Kelly Dean of Tuame to express their intentions to his Excellencie.

Heere I set you downe the letter and instructions, that you may passe your iudgement on them, and first I giue you this notice that in that graue Congregation was not a woord spoken of his Excellencie other then with respect due to his person, qualite, and greatness, though there were then persons present seuerall Bishops and other Cleargymen turned out of their Churches, and homes, not well knowing which way to turne themselues, which calamitie befell them in time of his goverment.

*The Letter of Iamestowne Congregation to the Lord
Leutenant.*

“ May it please your excellencie wee receaved your letter of the second current, wherein to our admiration wee saw some expressions that seems meant for casting the blame vpon vs of the present sad condition of the Kingdom, which wee hope in good time to answer to the satisfaction of the whole world and Nation, in the meane time wee premit this protestation as wee are Christian Catholik Prelats that wee have don our endeavours with all earnestnesse and candor for taking away from the harts of all, jealousies, and diffidences occasioned (as wee conceive) by soe many disasters that befell the Nation of late, and that in all occasions wee were redy to accompanie all your Excellencies designes for preservation of all his Majesties interests in this Kingdom, whose state being for the present desperat, wee thought it fit and our duty to offer vnto your Excellency our sense of the one only possibilitie and meanes wee could devise for its preservation, and that by the intervention and expression of my Lord of Drommore and Doctor Kelly dean of Tuame; they will clearly deliver our thoughts, and good intentions as to this effect: wee pray your Excellency to giue full credit to what they shall say in our name in this businesse, which will be still owned as our commands laid on them,

and the expression of the sincere harts of your Excellencies very loving servants etc. . . .

“Iamestowne 10. Aug: 1650.”

This letter was signed by all the Bishops sitting in the Congregation. The instructions that accompanied this letter, were as followeth.

“First yee are to present vnto his Excellency the vast destructions, and desolations of the Kingdom, the Citties, townes, places, etc. that wee have lost in the space of few months, especially Wexford, Ross, Kilkennie, Clonmel, Cashel, Carrick, the forts of Tiecrohan, Carlow, &c. almost the whole Provinces of Munster and Linster, with the churches and church livings in them, and that the Cittie of Waterfoord and the fort of Dunkanan blockt vp by the enemye) noe armie being to releve them) are in danger to be soone lost, as alsoe the rest of the kingdom not yet lost, which is but this Province of Connaght, and the countie of Clare.

2. “That the People seeing noe visible armie for their deffence to oppose the enemye, are come to despaire of recovering what is lost, or deffending what wee hould; and inclining (for the safty of their lives and estates) to compound with the Parlament, by which agreement the Kings authoritie will be infallibly cast off, the Catholick faith (soe wee feare) with the time exstinguished, and the Nation first enslaved, will perhaps in the end be pluckt vp root and branch.

3. " Yee shall protest before God , Angels and men , in the name and behalfe of the Congregation , that the Prelats of this Kingdom have employed their earnest and best endeavour for removing the feares and jealousies of the people , and that they have noe power to doe it , finding the vniversal sense of the people to be , that fate doth waite upon these times.

4. " Yee shall present to his Excellency how wee finding noe other human expedient remedie for the preservation of this Nation , and his Majesties interest therein , then the speedy repiars of his Excellency to the Queen and Prince in France , for preventing the destruction of all , doe humbly pray he leave the Kings authoritie in the hands of trusty persons to his Majestie , and faithfull to the nation , and to such as the affection and confidence of the people will follow , by which the rage and furie of the enemie may with Gods grace receave some interruption ; wee humbly offer this important matter of safty or destruction of the Nation , and the Kings interest to his wisdom and consideration , and yee shall assure his Excellency , wee shall in the meane time doe what lyeth in our power to assist the persons intrusted by his Excellencie.

" Yee are alsoe to pray his Excellencie will be pleased to give yee an answer within few dayes , for that wee are not in a condition to continue long together."

I aske , if there be any thing in this letter ,

message, or instructions, but what is humain, civil, and with great respect to his Excellencie? In this nature the Bishops soe demeaned themselves, even then when the greatest danger of distruction was over them, yea when most of them were destroyed alredy, and reduced to extreme pouerty, through the loss of the kingdom in the short time of his goverment.

I further demand is there any thing in this that fauours of treason or disaffection to his Majestie, or of opposing or destroying of the peace, or of desire to put aside the Kings authoritie and gouerment? was there any thing in all these proceedings could offend this noble man? or could any man draw out of this an occasion of carping or reprehending the Prelats? certainly noe man, excepting this father, or some other Ormonian flatterer: was it I pray you, soe haighnous a crime to desire the Lord Leutenant to take a viadge to the Queen and Prince, for to seeke supplies to support the war, and leaue the Kings authoritie behind him, in hope wee might doe some thing against the enemie in his absence by these intrusted by him, in as much as he himselfe did nothing all that time, but lost vs all wee had as likewise what was gained from the enemie in the begining of his owne Goverment? great Generals have been displaced for want of success, though valorous soever; this have been don in the Roman and Atthenian commonwealths the most flourishing in the world.

An ancient old woman came to Philip king of Macedon in presence of all his Grandes, beseeching his Majestie to give eare to her complaints, and doe her justice, the king replyed, he had noe leasure to attend her, at which answer the bould poore woman said in presence of them all, *igitur né sis Rex?* what are you King for, but to doe vs iustice? if you will not heare me lay downe your crowne, which you got to doe me iustice; immediatly this great king stood vp, gaue her audience, did her iustice: would it not, I pray, well become my lord of Ormond to listen to the iust and reasonable request of soe many Bishops, spiritual fathers of the people, while they humbly prayed him to take in hand a viadge? certainly I am confident that the great Manarchs of Spaine and France would give eare to what soe many Bishops would say, and take it much to their serious consideration, and I doubt not but our owne King would have don it, though of a different religion.

It hath been said by some of his owne friends, that he himselfe desired to take such a viadge in hand, but in as much as the Bishops desired him, he went backe from his owne resolution, what the reason is I know not, if not to crosse their desire.

CHAPTER. VIII.

The true Jealousies of the Irish Catholicks at London, that Ormond was to desert them, well set forth by F. Wailsh in a letter to Ormond, with certain observations made vpon the same letter.

Now we come to the jealousies and feares of the Catholick nobilitie and Gentry in London, yeare 1660. well set forth in a letter from F. Wailsh vnto Ormond, who, not-with standing all the rest did feare, yet the F. did not, nor as much as suspect of Ormonds disaffection and realtie to his countrie, and Catholick frinds; wherefore Ormond may say to him, what our Saviour said to the Centurian, *Mat. c. 8. Non inveni tantam fidem in Israel.* Here I give you the fathers letter.

A letter from Peeter Wailsh to the marquez now duke of Ormond and second time lord lieutenant of Irland, desiring a Iust and mercifull regard may be had of the Roman Catholicks of Irland, written Octob: 1660.

“Since I had the honour of speaking last to your Excellencie, I reflected (by reason of several dis-

courses had this week with persons of qualitie) on the dayly increase of the feares and jealousies of my councitmen, which is the reason that instead of waiting vpon you this morning about priuat concernments, (as I intended) I chose rather out of my vnalterable affection to your selfe, to give first this paper, and therein my thoughts, and my desires relating to the publick, that is, to yourselfe, to his Maiestie, and his Kingdom of Irland.

“My lord I thought fit to tell you that considering the general feare seized alreddy almost on all the Nobilitie, and Gentry, and others here of that nation, and reflecting on the vast difference t’wixt my owne beleefe and theirs, it seemes vnto me I behould in vs all (particularly who have relied for soe many yeares on your vertue) some-what fulfilled not vnlike the misterious extinction of all the lights to one in the ceremonie of Tenebræ in holy weeke: for my lord I observe in the generalitie of the Catholicks of Irland here, even (I say) of those, who have been soe long your constant beleeuers, your passionat frinds, a dimness and darkness seazing their judgment, even your fastest sticklers heretofore, loosing at present their expectation of your future appearance for them, and hopes of their delivery by you at any time evermore: some through ignorance of states affaires, and intrigues obstructing as yet; others through inconsideration of these wayes to you knowne, much wiser, though

slower then folly and rashness could chalke out : and some out of prejudice , or an euil will , which blinds them , and makes them abuse the timorousness and credulity of all they can to lessen your esteeme and your dependence , all they are able.

“ My lord , these thoughts , which more and more troubled me dayly , because I have dayly new occasions to reflect on them , and therefore would noe longer but give them your Excellency even in this method and writing , that they may take the deeper impression , as very much concerning you , since your one welfare , and the kings and peoples , (in my jugment) very much depend on a good esteeme of soe great a minister as your great deserts have made you.

“ But with all my lord I will give your Excellency my most earnest and most hartly desire , that you delay noe longer then shall be necessary to cleare these clouds of darkness , and cleare them in this present conjuncture by an effectuall demonstration of the justice and favour you intend the Catholicks in your Articles of 48. when they soe freely put themselves , and their power into your hands.”

Father Wailsh your letter is well penn'd expressing excellently the general feare that seized vpon all the Catholics of our nation in London ; a truer expression could not be. “ I observe ,” you say , “ in the generality of Irland here , even I say of those , who have beene soe long as well

your constant beleevers, as your stedfast frinds a dimness &c." And for the better persuading him to shew his vertue and affection to his Catholick friends, you tell him, "his own welfare, the kings &c. did much depend on a great esteeme of soe great a minister as his great deserts have made him:" Nothing can be said in reason to moue a gallant man more then what you have said. In the end of your letter you presse him closely to doe the Catholicks justice by vertue of the Articles of 48. saying "when they put themselves and their power into your hands soe freely."

Certainly good fa: had Ormond loved you and the Catholicks of Irland (those you name his fastest frinds and sticklers) as much as you and they loved him, would he have given a good answer to your rational lines, but you tell nothing of his answer, if good or bad; if it were good, I am sure you would have published it amongst the rest of his great vertues, soe as your silence in this argues noe good answer: all you prayers good fa: to Ormond are in vaine, you have cast your seed in a barren land, *Hoc est supra Petram*, and your prayers withered and shrank.

Had Ormond been a worthy man and lover of his country, he had dispersed those clouds of darkness as you desired him, taking away those feares of his true frinds by appearing for the nation as behoved a just man, and as he was

bound by vertue of the articles of 48. himselfe being the kings commissioner vpon concluding that peace. These are the affections and duties required at his hands by the Catholicks.

Doth his greatness (thinke you) give him a Privilege that the Catholicks should love him, and he hate them; that men nobly borne and many other worthy persons should for soe many years rely vpon him putting great trust in him, and he in the end should betray them in the greatest concernment they had in the world? if he hath in this done like a true Christian or gallant nobleman head of soe ancient a family, judge you and all others?

You speake after of Ceremonies and Tenebræ, all wee had from Ormond were but Tenebræ and Darkness, nor did your glorious light in the Triangle ever shine propitious to the Catholicks: his trusty frinds and sticklers have too long relied vpon a reed of Egypt, a reed without stay or vertue, such as your Ormond was and is. Such in London of our Nation (as you say) that feared he would prove, as he shewed himselfe, I see were wiser then you, that trusted soe much in him, and could not be persuaded he would play booty in the end and abandon the Catholicks, their feare was groundd in good reason, and your confidence in him was vaine, and you remaine still deceaved in that your confidence; oh! would to God the Catholicks had feared him in good time, if soe, Ormond had never come to

the power of annoying them, or to loose them ; but *Sero sapiunt phryges* : he deceived the person most trusted in him, and did beleieve (as you doe) that he would prove the deliverer of his country ; I meane the Earle of Clancarty (then lord viscont Musgry) his brother in law, who seemed sore vexed in his dying bed for having placed trust in Ormond, (an error destructive to his Nation) and tould his Excellency (then was the time not to dissemble) the heauyest feare that possessed his soule goeing vnto an other world was for confiding soe much in him, who deceived them all, and lost his poore country and countrymen.

It is plain truth (and F. Wailsh you know it to be soe) the great opinion very many of the assembly had of the sound judgement of my lord Clancarty (speaking nothing of his high descent an fortune) made many of the nobles and gentry follow him, and in the end they all found themselves deluded.

You know well that young Musgry (Clancarty his heire) who was Colonell in France, a stout and valiant person, one of the hopefulest men of his Nation, (who was killed in the first war at sea against the Hollanders) could never indure his vnkle Ormond after seeing his sinistrous wayes, his cunning artifices, and his deserting the Catholicks soe foully.

You have indeed F: earnestly prayed Ormond and conjured him to appeare for the Nation, and to obtaine for them the benefit of the Articles of

the peace of 48. (which he himselfe was bound in honnor and conscience to doe) and you constantly expected their delivery by him; and when shall that be thinke you? even then, when the Iews shall see their Messias long waited for.

Honnest friar, Ormond hath deceived you, and tooke a course to increase and secure his owne fortunes, he colloqued with your countrymen; and in the end stuck to that side, that preyed and robbed them of their estates, and amongst all he had the greatest share, as is well knowne to all; yet not a woord of this in your writings, of the high elogies you give of his wisdom, vertue, and most pretious qualities that can adorne a states-man.

CHAPTER IX.

In this Chapter is clearly set downe Ormonds wrongfull invasion and possession of several Irish Catholick gentlemens estates, well expressed in the case of Sr. Robert Lynch knight and Barronet.

ORMOND hath invaded against conscience justice and honour the estates of hundreds of poore in-

nocent Catholicks : I beseech you , what title or right had his Grace to the estate of Sr. Robert Lynch knight ? (whom I doe instance for a thousand more , not for any acquaintance with him) what right I say had he to this knight's estate ? vpon what accompt did he invade the islands of Aaron this gentleman's inheritance and had his son Richard created earle of that place and estate : it is manifestly known that *Dominium perfectum & plenum* of said estate was in Sr. Robert Lynch and his heires , and yet my lord tooke those lands from him , *quo titulo quo jure* is the question ; deffend F. Wailsh if you can in this place your great patron ; *ipsa sanderesis* tould Ormond , that he was doeing wrong and robbery the lands appertaning to Sr. Robert , that *judicium naturale quo* (as S. Basil speakes) *ab iniquis , bona facile discernere possumus* , clearly convinced Ormond that he was doeing a robbery ; that law of nature , *quod tibi non vis fieri alteri ne feceris* , that light of which holy David speakes , *signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine* : all those sacred lawes cryed out the depriving of Sr. Robert Lynch of his estate , was *factum contra legem dei æternam* : all those lights of God and nature condemnes this fact , soe that *finis operis & finis operantis , objectum circumstantiæ ; & omnia quæ agebat Ormonius erant contra legem Dei* ; what then can he say or plead for himselfe ? or you for him ? he cannot alleage that he acquired that *Dominium* by any pact , stipulation , donation , per-

mutation or prescription; what then will men say in this case? noe other then that Ormonds invading that gentleman's lands was *apertum latratium*.

Likely you may tell me the King made a grant to Ormond of the said knights estate; you know well that in *lege naturæ* noe human power can dispense, and it is certaine that the law of nature doth bind all kind of men, and that none can pretend exemption from the force of that law, the impression thereof being a light made in every man's haert, soe that this law binds as well the prince as the lowest man: *legi naturæ* (saith Lactantius) *nec prærogari fas est, nec derogare ex hoc aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per senatum, aut per populum hac lege liberari possumus*: shall I say more? probable it is that God himselfe cannot dispense in the law of nature, take S. Thomas his authority for it: *quia id sapientiæ divinæ omnino repugnat, proindeque fieri non potest* 1. 2. *quæst.* 100 *ar.* 8. & *ratio est* (saith the saint) *quia lex naturalis nihil aliud est, vt docet S. Aug: quam ipsius eternæ legis & incommutabilis rationis ipsius divinæ sapientiæ in mentibus hominum facta transcriptio*. Now it is evidently cleare a man's life, liberty, fame, lands, estates and fortunes are his owne by the law of nature, and that by force of the same law *qui suis potest se defendo & sua, vini vi repellere*; and soe could Sr. Robert against Ormond invading his estate had he beene, able to doe soe.

But you will say the lands and estates of subjects forfeited to the king for treason, rebellion, and other like crimes by way of attaindeur may be disposed of by the king: I grant that, but this authority for taking away from such men their lands and estates, the prince hath from the law of nature, which doth not protect any privat man to doe against the publick good, wherefore the commonwealth can take away the life of a man and his estate, (though both are his by the law of nature) when he transgresses against the prince or publick good; to whom by pact or law of nature he should obey: this the prince can doe for justice sake, but not for convenience, or at his will and pleasure; for the bonds prescribed to the jurisdiction of a prince, are justice, law, and reason, and not to doe his owne pleasure. Now I would know from you what crime hath Sr. Robert committed? was he convinced of any crime against the king before any bench of justice? what hath he done? who charged him? the law of England (a good law) sayes noe man can be condemned but by course of law, that is the subjects birth-right, and to that effect are lawes made, that justice may be don to all men: princes are obliged in conscience to administer justice ackording to the law.

I demand againe, what hath Sr. Robert Lynch don? you will say he was ingaged in the Irish rebellion, (for soe you still call that just war,

which you could never as yet prove nor never shall) but grant it hath been a rebellion, Sr. Robert Lynch, as all the confederat Catholicks, had an act of oblivion from the king, in the peace of 48. *ergo* your rebellion was pardoned, *ergo* Sr. Robert Lynch cannot loose his estate for that, nor hath he since that time entred into a new rebellion, or committed any act of treason; Ormond cannot say he broake the Articles of peace of 48. for he still observed them, and adhered to the gouvernement and to [Ormond, and had nothing to doe with the congregation of Iamestowne whose acts were by Ormond esteemed or reputed treasonable: tell me then what right had Ormond to that noble gentleman's estate? you see the King's grant (if any he gave) being against the law of nature and the law of the land is voyd, and cannot excuse Ormond's conscience, and if the king by a wrong information, had granted one man's estate to another, that other cannot prescribe, *quia numquam erat in bona fide*, and consequently in conscience he is bound to restore the said estate, because he houlds it *mala fide*: and the prince himselfe rightly informed is obliged in conscience to have the estate restored to the right owner.

But now let us returne to the other part of the F: letter, wherin he vseth a Christian freedom of minding the king and Ormond how dangerous a thing is the violation of publick faith,

and how such transgressors have beene severly punished in all ages; but above all he brings downe a formidable example of publick faith broken with the Gabionites, and how King David for appeasing the great famin, and the anger of God come vpon the people, delivered to said Gabionites seaven children and nephews of Saul, who crucifyed them alive upon a mountaine to expiat this publick horrid sin even in the face of sun. *Lib. 2. Reg. c. 21.* he ends his letter to Ormond thus :

“ My lord I conclude here but with my harty wishes, that in the house, and at the Counsellis of our great king, your Excellency may both appeere, and prove your selfe hereafter, what you are in part already, an other Ioseph, that by the best advises you may preserve the best of Princes and all his people of soe many different nations of the British monarchy; may it be soe my lord and may the Catholicks of Irland in particular owne you a great deliverance; as I can not but confidently expect from you in due time, for my light in the triangle cannot be extinguished. But my lord may not innocent Benjamin alone, nor frindly Ruben onely, but even Symeon and Levi, and their complices against you heretofore have cause to blesse God for you here after; may they all find in effect, that you have the bowells of Ioseph to forgive and compassionat them, and his power to deliver them,

and his faith to beleieve that God permitted their evil against you even in forcing you twice away from them, of purpose to preserve you for their good, and that you might returne even this second time their great deliverer. Propitious heaven and your owne good Genius (my lord) second my wishes, and may your faith-full beleever see with his owne eyes the full accomplishment; that he may employ all his dayes after, and all his labours in consecrating to posterity your name, with this Elogium of Ioseph, the saviour of his brethren, and of his country, and of all the People, and these are the harty wishes of my lord

“your Excellencies most humble

“and most devoted servant P. W.”

Here is a glorious perclose of that famous letter; good God what a faire flourish wee have here of magnificent woords, and even nothing but woords, vowes, and dreaming wishes, that will take effect at once with the Velleities of the damned soules of hell: first he insinuates the great wisdom of Ormond in the house and counsells of the king, and would make vs beleieve he will appeare like an other Ioseph, and by the best of advises preserve the best of Princes our gracious king and all his people of soe many different nations of the Brittish monarchy; soe as the very Brittish crowne is againe like to suffer an other fatal knock, if Ormond's divine coun-

sells and advises doe not prevent it; what man can read these magnalia without gearing at this fryar's folly? he then says, may the Catholicks of Irland in particular owe you a great diliverance, as I can not but confidently exspect from you in good time, for my light in the triangle can not be extinguished. Certainly the man have been in a pleasant humour and some joiuall exstasie when he wrote these things; but I see the spirit of prophesie forsooke this friar long agoe, and nothing (I am sorry for it) fell out according his prognostication, for Ormond did quite deceave him in his hopes, and astrean predictions, and his false light in the triangle (if ever it was in the triangle) is shamefully put out; for the people of Irland in stead of this hopefull deliverance owe to Ormond their downfall and vtter destruction. He then speaks of beloved Benjamin of frindly Ruben, as likewise of Symeon and Levi and their complices against Ioseph giving therby to vnderstand that the Catholicks sould Ormond as Ioseph's brethren sould him to the Egyptians, which is as great a lye as could be framed by a diabolick mind, wheras Ormond, if he did not sell the nation (as Clarendon the Chancelour did) he hath at leastwise betrayed them in trust; pray good F: name the marchand to whome wee sould your Ormond? tell the price wee had for selling him? name the country he was transported vnto.

Now he comes to the bowells of Ioseph in Or-

mond', O the mercifull bowells of Ormond in compassionating his countrymen! It is true he had great power to doe vs good, but turned that power to destruction, carryed away by a spirit of rancor and revenge: wheras you say wee forced Ormond away out of the country, it is a shamfull lye; but he himselfe withdrew, in as much as he could doe noe good to the countrie (as above said) next you tell us he will become the great deliverer of his countrie: O the great deliverer Ormond of his countrie and countriemen! of the Catholicks of Irland, noble Ormond! that brought them out of chaines and bondage, that defended them faith-fully against Orery, Mont-rath, and the rest of that rabelment of rebels when they had a contest before king and counsel; that consoled them in their extremities, delivered them from hunger and famin, that represented to the king their loyalty and affection, and made good to them the Articles of 48. O wonderfull deliverer of the nation Ormond! The lying friar perclosed his letter with this great eulogium and prayer: That Ormond may prove a Ioseph and saviour of his brethren, and of his Countrie and of all the people.

Change your stile idle and vaine friar, writ truth once in your life, and tell the world that thy Ormond hath not been a Ioseph, nor saviour, but the ruine, looser, and destroyer of his brethren, and countrie and of all the people. You may as wel prove crueltie to be mercy, Helio-

gabalus was a Cato Vticensis, or a Photion of Athens, and that Messalina wife to Claudius was a vestal nun, as that Ormond was a Ioseph to the Irish.

Let who please compare Ormond with Ioseph, and then judge this friar apostatizing from all pietie and his order, a lyar in calling Ormond a Ioseph.

Ioseph in Putiphar's house was faithfull to his maister, contentent and vertuous; Ioseph in prison was patient, obedient to Gods will, and beloved of all; Ioseph in the court and government of Egypt was wise, just, humble, and in noe way proud or arrogant; if Ormond hath those vertues, let those that know him tell vs. Ioseph was of soe great wisdom and Providence, as he prevented seaven yeares famine by gathering corne in time of plenty, and selling it in time of scarcity and hunger to the people, thereby preserving them all from starving, wherefore Pharo called Ioseph the saviour of the world: surely the friar cannot stile Ormond saviour of Irland or of the Irish in this sense; he preserved none of them from famin, but starved thousands of them, by taking away their lands, estates and bread: this his crvel tyrannie and oppression of the poore makes them strick the gates of heaven with grones and sighes and cryes, they all say aloud O Ormond cruel man! "thou hast taken away the pleadge of thy brethren without cause, and the naked thou hastspoiled of cloathes, widdowes thou

hast sent away emptie , and the armes of pupills thou hast broken in peeces." Job. c. 22.

Those are flatering friar the workes of mercy Ormond thy Ioseph have done the Catholicks of Irland ; that is the tenderness of his mercifull bowells towards them , those are the effects of his great affection and care of them ; and all this being soe , speake fa : Wailsh truth and shame the divel , what hath thy Ormond to doe with Ioseph ? thy Ormond (I say) a man , (of whome it is generally spoken and beleevd) could never forgive any thing that looked like an offence , or injurie done him , wheras mercy was the greatest vertue in Ioseph , and his remitting and forgiving the injuries done him by his brethren who sold him over to the Egyptians.

CHAPTER X.

Evident proofes of Ormonds deserting the Catholicks cheefly drawn out of his owne letter to Orery.

FROM the feares of the Catholicks of our nation in London , that Ormond was to desert them , and their good cause , let us pass to eleere arguments fully convincing that noble man of this his mind and determination to abandon said Catholicks and joyne with Orery and the rest of that tribe , as really he did.

God said to the Prophet Ezechiel. "Son of man digge the wall, and when I had digg'd the wall there appeared one doore and he saith to me, goe in and see the most wicked abominations, which they doe here." I am now comming to digg the wall, where you shall see the abominations Ormond was doeing even about the time the credulous friar wrote him the above letter; what I am to say here will appeare evidently by Ormond's owne letter to Orery, which is in this forme.

Ormond's letter to Orery.

"My Lord agreeable to the particular friendship I desire to have inviolably with your Lordship, that upon occasion, the King's naming me to the gouvernement of Irland, I should have written particularly to you, but I held it not soe particularly necessarie, because I vnderstood a principal condition is that noe change should be made in that, hoever it may make me more or less able to serve you, soe that I presume on the old foot, and lay asside all ceremonies: I hope you will find, that since I had some tittle to make it my business, the maine dispatches in order to the settlement of that Kingdom, have not gon on slower then before, which with some thrifty alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in full counsel, and will speedly be transmitted, and if it be possible the great act of settlement with it, that with the retrenchements, the secu-

ritie as well of their possessions , as of a constant payement , of what is left of pay , may be secured vnto them ; I assure you noe diligense nor meanes shall be wanting or omitted on my side to haste both to you. I thank your lds. for General Preston's pious oath , I neaver saw it before , but the fruits of it , and of an other perjurie soone after I found ; and in truth found nothing but direct treachery and disobedience from the generalitie of that people , governed by the worst spiritual guides , that ever lead a poore people to destruction , but they doe , and it is just they should , find the smart of it : I have a designe to make that smart where it is reason it should , it is to execute the act in all the fundation of it , which must be immoveable by way of plantation , and transplatation (I meane of the Irish) for it must be laid as a ground , that noe adventurer or soldier shall be removed from his lott , by which all the ends of satisfaction and security , I think will be mett ; which my conceptions are in the hands of your frind , and tells me he liketh them well ; when they are brought to forme you shall have them sent you. I am yours &c. Ormond.

CHAPTER XI.

*A paraphrase vpon the misterious meaning
of this letter.*

IN this letter a blind man may parceaue the great affection Ormond beares to the Cromwelians, and his longing desire to see them paid and satisfyed of all their challenge and demands; more could not be desired by them, then what is promised by Ormonds letter (the 12. Counties in Irland that Cromwel and the then parlament allotted them) the same affection and care he hase of the adventurers of London, as deeply in rebellion as the rest Vnderstood here; "for it must be (said Ormond) laid as a ground, that noe adventurer nor soldier shall be remoued from his lott, by which all the ends of satisfaction and securitie, I thinke will be mett; which my conceptions are in the hands of your frind, and tells me he likes them well:" this frind he meanes is Clarendon, who sold away Irland and the Catholicks of Irland; Ormonds conceptions ran vpon the satisfaction and securitie of the Cromwelians, that they should not be remoued from their lott, neither the adventurers; in manner that by this frindly distribution, there was nothing left to the Catholicks, for what the Cromwelians and ad-

venturers possessed, were 22. countyes of thirty two in all Irland.

If Cromwel were but alive againe, and hauing an act of grace from his majestie for himselfe, he could not demand nor desire more for his close Sticklers, then what Ormond assures them of. Good friar trouble your braines noe more with these Strained letters of yours vnto Ormond as for favour to the Catholicks, *conclusum est contra ipsos*: all is disposed of, and to the very rebels, your Ormond have stopt his eares to your flattering eloquence, and left nothing to the poore innocent Catholicks, an eternal staine and blemish to his name and family: and this he was plotting (to your confusion friar be this spoken) this he was plotting I say, even then, and at the same time you strained your witt to pen him that learned letter: it is much, that for the confidence he placed in you his prone Orator, and affection he bore to his noble brother in law Clancarry, and Kindness to his gallant nephew young Musgry, that he concealed all these his hidden stratagems from you all, even from his intimat ould frind Mr. Beling.

This letter is replenished with tender love and affection to Orery, "my lord (said Ormond) agreeable to the particular frindship I desire to have inviolably with your lordship:" what a sudden alteration (if they be sincerely spoken) is this, a noble man held still to be a royalist, to become soe vunexpectedly a fautor of Cromwelians, a

man as Ormond, who stuck soe closely to the king in his royal banishment, and vnparallel misfortunes, the kings cabinet counselor, to desire and insinuate freely (without solicitations from the other side) frindship and particular amitie, inviolably to be observed and performed with the kings mortal enemie, not long agoe, with Orery I meane, whose witt was brewing to crowne Cromwel king of the three kingdoms; Ormond tells this Orery. "I hope you will find that since I had some title to make it my business, the maine dispatches in order to the settlement of that kingdom, have not gon on slower then before; which with some thrifty alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in full counsel, and will speedily be transmitted, and if it be possible the great act of settlement with it" &c. Ormonds business here (which he made his maine worke) was to vndermine and destroy the Irish intrest his settlement, (as hee means) is to see all disposed of to the Cromwelians, Aduenturers and Souldiers, not forgetting himselfe, and some others, as treacherous to Ireland, as hee himselfe, or Orery; heere you may take notice of his godly conscience in hauing a speciall care to see a constant payment (of what is vnpayd,) secured for the vngodly crew: tell me Ormond, Sauour and Ioseph of your Countremen, what is your meaning by a constant payment to those who fought soe vigorously against the Crowne and Royall Bloud? is this the Crownes interest?

will you haue reconciled enemies constantly in pay, and seruice? is this loyalty or loue to the King, to turne out true, and faithfull men to the Crowne, and confirme bloudy Traytours in theyr place? How many be there, that wonders as well abroad as at home, his Maiestie takes noe notice of these proceedings? certainly there can be no great argument of loue to the King, in forsaking his constant and faithfull subjects & making new frindship with his aproued enemies, thy affection to Orrery & others doe sound some misterious pollicie, as men of weake capacitie cannot reach vnto, howeuer, there be those, that say that the roote of all this proceeds from an vnsatiable desire of (*auri sacra fames*) and willingness to be reuenged on the poore catholicks of the Nation.

He then thanks Orrery in his letter for an oath hee sent him that General Preston made, and sayes hee never saw it before, but found the fruits of it, and of another perjurie soone after. I need not in this place make mention of the ancient and noble familie of General Preston (Viscount of Taro) cadett to the most noble house of Gormanstowne the eldest and first house of viscounts in Irland, a familie allwayes true and faithfull to the crowne, and of great pietie and deserts; that the said Generall ever show'd himselfe a gallant and valiant man in all dangers, is well knowne, and though Ormond and Orrery both have been Commaunders of Ar-

mies, the first under his Majeste, and the other under Cromwel, I can scarce beleieve either of them, gained (by, or in any expidition) as much honour and applause as Preston had at the seege of Lovain (where beseged by the French in the year 1634.) by a sallie made in the head of 300, of his owne regiment, vpon St. Peters day early in the morning, breaking vpon the French quarters, routing and killing all opposed or resisted him, to the losse of 200 and eightie French souldiers, returning victorious sound and safe without loosing a man, and was received with triumph and joy of all the people of Lovain, which noble exploit of his is celebrated by the famousest writers of those dayes, as Vernulceus and Puteanus. There was in General Preston a nother thing of greater prayse than all this, true Vertue and pietie, being a man that feared God, and loathed to doe against his commandments, soe that it is a calummie to call him perjured; but if Orrery and Ormond shall be admitted to judge honest upright people, many will be by them censured as noble Preston is, for perfidious, and perjured men: but pray why may not Preston and others say to this Ormond, "*Quis te constituit Judicem?*" I will conclude with General Preston, for whom I doe say, that his life being sifted out from his childhood, he will not be found to have done any base or vile action.

Here Ormond is not resolved to stopp, but passes on further and sayes to his new moulded

Friend Orrery: "and in truth I found nothing but direct treacherie and disobedience from the generalitie of that People:" it is true "*Quod ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*," in this place; but I would have his grace know (in a frindly manner I speak) that there is nere a Butler a live, nor have been in times past, noe, nor of the Geraldines nor Bourkes (families renowned as any of the Butlers) nor even of the old princely bloud of that nation, as your o Brian, o Nealls, o Mourchoes, o Donnells, Macharties, o Connors, &c., whose word or testimonie would be esteemed, as to the blemishing of the generalitie of a nation, to make them treacherous and perfidious: Father Walsh harken and take notice of this splendid attestation your great Mecænas Ormond gives of the Catholick people of Irland, that in truth hee found nothing but direct Treacherie and disobedience from the generalitie of that people: what man soe impudent, would mantain soe notorious a reproach and infamie cast vpon a sound body of men, a whole nation faithfull and loyall ever and all wayes to the King: in this place good Father I discover that (notwithstanding your intimacy with Ormond) it doth not stopp him from giving you, the lie, who in severall places of your writings doe prove the generalitie of the Nation (though you write against some particulars) to have been loyall and faithfull to the King, now Ormond doth blemish the generalitie of the Nation by the fore-men-

tioned spott, hee turnes to the Bishops, Pastors, and Fathers of the people, and tells his loving Orrery, the people were governed by the worst spiritual guides, that ever lead a poor people to destruction, and sayes further, they doe it, and it is fitt they should find the smart of it, and that hee hath a designe to make the smart when it is most reason it should be.

Heere my Lord Duke usurps a great presumption in saying the Bishoppes were dismall guides to the people: he is far mistaken in his false suppositions, the Bishops were not they that misguided the people, & lead them a stray, he is mistaken I say again. *Vox populi* sayes it is he, and he alone (Ormond I mean) that lead them blind fould, deluded, and trapan'd them to theyr destruction, downefall and ruine, Seazing vpon all they had, Fortune, Libertie, and Estates, with the rest of his complices, and not the Bishops.

This good Duke seems to have a strange antipathie to these venerable Bishops, for each where he affronts them, (an argument of an ignominious minde) hee wil have noe peace with them. Though his Grace a while after the Kings restauration was created Duke, and Lord Steward of the Kings house, and Lord Lieutenant of Irland, and one of his Majesties privie counsel in England and Earle of Brecknocke (in Wales) created, that he might sit in the Parliament of England; to be short hee attainted to

that hight of favour, with our good King, as none in the three Kingdoms did reach vnto; yet all this signified little or nothing to him, till he had seen those Catholicke Bishops (allredy much afflicted) trampled under his feet, theyre sufferings could not appease his wrath, theyre innocencie could not satisfie his conscience, nor theyre integritie rectifie his erronious judgement; but must needs write to his beloved Orrery, his new friend, saying "that these Bishoppes were the worst spirituall guides that ever lead a poor people to destruction." This is Ormond's testimonie to the King of the good Bishops; he sayd they were Traytours and disaffected to his Majestie and crowne, (and sayes the same still) all this to kindle his Majesties indignation against them, and by that way to see himselfe revenged of an injurie (hee imagined) don him by those of the congregation of Waterford and Iamestown, of which wee have sayd enough above.

Saint Paul himselfe (diuine trumpet of the word of God,) though hee suffered cheerfully and innocently many reproaches, contumelies, and imprisonments for Gods cause and sake, yet hee would not have his fame to be taken away or stain'd *Bonum est enim* (saith the Apostle) *mihi magis mori quam ut Gloriam meam Quis evacuet*; Saint Ierome, in Imitation of Saint Paul, sayes *Ad Silentiam: Apostolici et Exempli, et Præcepti est, ut Habèamus rationem non conscientie tantum, sed etiam fume*; Finally

Saint Augustin *Sermone tertio de vita Clericorum*; hath these words, *tenete quod dixi atque distinguite, duæ res sunt, Conscientia, et famæ, Conscientia Necessaria est tibi, fama Proximo tuo, qui fidens Conscientiæ suæ, negligit famam suam crudelis est.* The Bishops being innocent are to follow Saint Pauls Example, to defend their fame against Ormond, and greater man than hee; and their Innocency, Piety, and knowne integrity will thoroughly defend them. My opinion is that Ormonds vnquietness comes from the height of his spirit: for that the appetite of ambitious men is commonly soe inordinate, & their will soe unbridled, they cannot indure to see themselves thwarted in the least, or crossed, soe that, though they possess never soe much contentment in all things, yet if in the least they finde themselves opposed, all the rest seems noysome unto them; an Example of which wee have in Holy Scripture, (in the book of Hester,) of Aman. who abounding in wealth and honour, Pleasures, and glories, seeing that Mardocheus the poore Iew, let him pass without doing him any reverence, (which Mardocheus did out of feare of offending God, knowing well Aman was a deadly enemy to God, and to the Iewes,) was soe vexed therewith, that hee assembled his wife, Children, and frinds, having told them of all his Glories and Familiarity with the King Assuerus, and how hee alone was invited a long with the King, to Queen Hesters banquet, hee

said : and for all I have this pompe , magnificence and Glorie , I think I have nothing , as long as I see Mardochæus sitting before the Kings doore , and performing mee noe reverence (Even soe Ormond , having all Glory , and prosperity , yett thinks hee hath nothing , while the Catholick Bishops (that offended him not) doe not prostrate themselves at his feet , and submitt to his blindly transported Iudgment.) Then Zares Amans wife and his frinds answered him , saying , commaund a beame to be raised of sixty cubits high , and speak to the King on the morning , that Mardochæus may be hanged thereon ; and soe thou shall goe Ioyfull and merily to the feast , but all went quite to the contrary ; and to Amans expectation , and to the expectation of all his frinds ; the Gibbet raised by Aman , for Mardochæus , was turned to Amans owne destruction.

That hee (as I said before) for his great ambition , accompanied with a revenging minde , can have but little ease or rest ; The Prophet says , *Impius quasi mare servens , quod quiescere non potest* "The wicked man is like a swelling Sea , which cannot rest ;*" there can be noe greater executioners or torments to the minde of man , then ambition , enuy , and anger , this made Horace say , *Invidia siculi non invenere tyranni tormentum majus*. The tyrants of Cicilie never found a greater torment then enuy.

Isa. cap 57.

Seneca tells us the ambitious man receiveth not soe much contentement by seeing many behinde him, as discontent by seeing any before him; there are many great men in this age sick of this disease, such as cannot know when they are well, and though great they be, will strine still to be greater, soe that they can at noe tyme be at ease or at quietness, much like that Italian*, who being well, must needs take phisick, and dyed thereof, vpon whose sepulchre this Epitaphe was engraved, I was well, and would be better, I tooke phisick, and came to the phereter.

Plutarch expresseth naturally this unquietness of ambitious mindes in Pyrrhus King of Epirot, who having greatly enlarged his Dominions with the conquest of the great Kingdom of Macedonia, began alsoe to designe with himselfe the conquest of Italy, and having Communicated his deliberation with his great counselour Cineas, hee demaunded his advice, whertoe Cineas answered, that hee greatly desired to know what hee meant to doe when hee had conquered Italy? Sir quoth Pyrrhus, the Kingdom of Cisilie is then neere at hand, and deserveth to be had in consideration, as well for the fertility, as for the riches, and power of the Iland. Well, quoth Cineas, and when you have gotten Cici-ly, what will you then doe? Quoth Pyrrhus, Africk is not farre of, where there are divers goodly Kingdoms, which partly by the fame of

my former conquests, and partly by the valour of my souldiers, may easily be subdued. I grant it quoth Cineas, but when all Africk is yours, what mean you then to doe? When Pyrrhus saw that hee urged him still with that question; then quoth Pyrrhus, thou and I will be merry, and make good cheer; whereunto Cineas replied, if this shall be the end of your adventures and labours, what hindereth you from doing the same now, will not your Kingdoms of Epyras and Macedonia suffice you to be merry, and make good cheere? and if you had Italy, Cicily, Africk, and all the world, could you and I be merrier than wee are, or make better cheere than wee doe? will you therfore venter your Kingdoms, Person, Life, Honour, and all you have to purchase that which you have already? Thus said wise Cineas to Pyrrhus, reprehending his Immoderate ambition, who knew not when he was well, neither yet what hee would have, seeing hee desired noe more then that which hee had alleready, which in the end cost him deare; for following his owne ambition, and unbridled appetite, to amplify his Dominions; as hee gott much, soe he lost much being able to conserve nothing any tyme, and at length having entred the towne of Ayros by force, hee was killed with a brick batt throwne down by a woeman from the top of a house; heere you see the wretched end of Pyrrhus his ambition.

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Had Ormond such a counsellour by him, as Cineas was, & heard unto him, hee had lickly been happier then he is at present, such a counsellour I mean as would say unto him intrepidly, when hee tooke the course of stripping honest gentlemen of their estates; my Lord I would desire to know what you resolve to doe, when you have by hooke and crooke ingrossed the lands, and inheritances of Innocent persons, poore widowes and Orphans unto your selfe; when you have obtained all, is the thing you ayme at, only to make good cheere, and be merry? if this be your designe, you need not trouble yourselfe soe much, nor expose your conscience to danger, nor your honour to such an Ignominious shame and infamy, (which shall endure to all ages) in taking away that which is not your owne? farre better content your selfe as you are, and feast upon that great patrimony your Predecessors left, cannot that estate which maintained them honourably (without damaging any other) maintaine and content you? but I see this is an evill familiar, those exalted to the height of greatness and favour in the Princes eye have noe counsellours that will speak freely the truth, as worthy Cineas did to Pyrrhus; few are neere Kings and Princes, can say that which Seneca requires to be said by just upright men, *Loguimur quod Sentimus, et Sentimus quod Loguimur*, "this is a thing wanting in Court," *Homo qui dicat vesitatem*, which Seneca

excellently expressed to his frind , Lucilius , thus *Monstrabo tibi cuius rei impia Laborant magna fastigia , quod omnia possidentibus , desit unum Scilicet qui verum decit ;* “ They live not in courts and the houses of Kings that will severly speake , and sincerely the trueth ,” what man can without teares behold soe many great personages , even Christians in this age , that live , and doe farre wickeder things , then Gentils or Pagans have don , or does , which had more respect and regard to theire Idols (in whome they apprehended some dietie) then those to the true and liuing God.

CHAPTER XII.

*If Ormonds attendance, and service
upon the King in his banishment,
met with sufficient recom-
pence and reward.*

THIS querie you may take to be something extravagant , such another as if one had doubted whether it be day , even when the sun shines , and is scorching of the earth , putting men into such heat and sweat , as they must of all necessity put of theire cloathes ; however this querie is quickly resolved , by calculating the yearly

rents Ormond had before the warre, and conferring the same with this his present estate, in doing of this the work is don, and your question resolved; what rent say you had hee Immediately before the warre? 7000. pound sterling noe more? in as much, as that vast estate of his was engaged to men in long Leases, Morgaged, and incumbred with Annuityes; what then is his present rent and estate? neare vpon eighty thousand pound starling annuall rent (and I doubt whether any subject in Europe have the like estate, som say hee hath more,) but how coms it that a man, that came home naked and bare after soe many yeares toe and froe in the world, (as severall other noble men in poverty and need) came so suddainely by such vast acquisitions? This is quickly answered; all was made over to him by the kings grant, as for Example, Six Corporations, (which his Ancestours never had) all the estates of his house leased, soe that the leasors are constrained to begg, hee had alsoe conferred vpon him the estates and lands of many honest faithfull subjects; all this and more bestowed vpon him by his Majestyes free grant; now see you whether his service and attendance vpon his Majesty, be plentifully requited or noe? My Sentiment of Ormonds acquisitions I delivered in the case of Sir Robert Lynch as a bove, now whether the King hath dely and legally bestowed other mens estates vpon his Grace, is left to every mans thought,

to think what hee will ; however I am of this opinion , that (all being well considered by his Majesty , and this portentous liberality to that noble man , well examined ,) his Majesty will finde but little content or joy therin , nay to the contrary , his Royal hart will be in an ocean of unquietness , seeing soe many deserving families numberless widdowes , Innocents and orphans , deprived of their proper right , forced both at home and abroad to unspeakable wants , consumed by hunger , vermin , and miseries , and all this , to raise up the greatness of one man's familie , that was great enough of it selfe ; If the Law of God or nature will allow of soe many thousand Innocents to perish and be destroyd , by depriving them of their rights and livelihood , is a maxim that toucheth much his Royall wisdom , for it is written , that God will have a care of the widdowes and fatherless , and in due tyme will chastise and oppress the oppressors of those ; thousands of Innocents are sacrificed in this our age , to increase the estate of one man , can Iustice suffer this ? can the mercifull breast of a mercifull King endure to see soe many spectacles of woes and miseries without reliefe ? will not God at long running looke downe vpon these vnlawfull proceedings ? certainly hee will , and to the confusion of the possessors.

But Let us grant the parents of those Innocent creatures ran into a Rebellion , (as Ormond , Clarindon , and others falsly suggested to the King)

have the little babes, (not borne at that tyme) been rebels? What have they don against the Crowne? Must they all suffer and perish for their Parents crimes? (crimes only imputed to them, but never proved;) God himselfe sayes, *Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris*, "The childe shall not beare the iniquity of his Father;" but Ormond says the contrary, let them suffer and perish for the errours of their Parents, soe that I may be thereby both great and wealthy; *Iustitia Iusti*. (sayes the Holy Ghost) *super eum, et impietas impij super eum*, "The Iustice of the Iust fall vpon him, and the Impiety of the Impious vpon him;" the quite contrary is in this case, for the Iust have not found Iustice, nor mercy, the Innocent children (of the supposed rebels) are punished as Impious, left naked and to noe mercy. Saint Ierome his saying is not regarded in this place, *Nec virtutes, nec vitia parentum liberis Imputentur*, "Let not the virtues, or vices of the parents be imposed to the Children;" there is a God above all, when hee comes to examine those open injustices, Clarindon Ormond and others and the rest (instruments of the ruine of soe many thousand honest families) will not appeare, all will be made more cleare to their confusion; but wee must leave the Innocent to God, who though he is pleased to Chastise them with the Rod of his anger (out of his secret and just Iudgments, the which wee must adore) yet the cruelty of those afflictors, (who

plunged as in an ocean of Calamaties) will not escape his seveare sentence and Iustice. What a ridiculous concept is it, of some of Ormonds flatterers, who tell the World, Ormond waited on the King out of meer affection, and therby lost his estate and fortunes at home : truly noe man hath bine wiser (if it be wisdome to deuest and robb honest men of their estates) then Ormond in his acquisitions, which as the world sees, are great, but the malediction of God doth follow things unjustly acquired, and likely the bread hee now eates dipped in the teares of widowes, and blood of the Innocent doth not taste sweetly :

I could not heare of any had the fortune that Ormond had in the time of the Kings exile, hee was still near the King, knew all his Arcana, had the comfort and honour to suffer with his King, (a sufficient recompense for all his attendance) and at the same tyme his Lady (a wise woeman) was honoured and comforted by Crumwell; and her children much carressed by his children, soe gracious was this Lady in Crumwells tyme, and in his eyes, that shee obtained three thousand pound or more for her joynter per-annum; who more inward with the King then Ormond? who more respected by Crumwell then the Lady of Ormond? and shee well requited Crumwells kindness, to his relations, cheefly to his sonne Harry, upon the Kings restauration, who obtained upon her knees from the King (as we

have been informed) that Harry Crumwell might enjoy the estats given him in Ireland by his Father in the tyme of his Protectorship, among other lands hee had that of Mr. Sedgrave of Killeylan a good and ancient familie, which estate he sold to one Sir Patrick Moledy knight, who possesseth it to this day, and the relict of said Sedgraves Mistres Jane Nottingham (a good and vertuous Lady) lives very poorly and in a sad condition with her children, without joynter or relief; and soe my Lady Dutches of Ormonds solicitations for Harry Crumwell, weare for the childe of him that murdered the Kings Father and against a poor widow and her babes, a widow whose Father and Kindred were ever faithfull to the crowne, and were not these think ye Godly, and misterious prayers and intercessions.

CHAPTER XIII.

*How the frugality, and laudable husbandry
of the Ancient Renowned Heroes, did
content it selfe, and have bin
satisfyed with small rewards
given them, for the
rare services by the
common wealth.*

GREAT reason, that deserving men should be looked upon, and requited according to the service don to their country or Prince; this custome hath been exercised in the best, and most flourishing common wealths of Rome, Athens, Carthage, and Lacedimonia, who reflecting vpon the deserts of theire people, and services don the common wealth at home and a broad, did by statutes express eternize theire names, and families vnto posterity, as alsoe by gifts and rewards; And these (soe collated) munificencies, were by distinct names called, as some, by the name of Adorea, martial praise, another was called "Corona Aurea", a gold crowne, Navalis a sea fight crowne, soe Castrensis, and Obsidionalis, a field and siege crowne, &c., now and then they gave your Hostas Deauratas gilded speres, and

some times they gave certaine akers of ground and measures of corne, more or less as they deserved, and such measures were called Hemina, which in phisicall measure is not three gallons: heere it is to be noted how great Heroes, and champions anciently were recompenced: for their extraordinary services don to the (common-wealth) with small presents, and, well contented were they with the same, soe great have been their frugal husbandry, and parcemonie in all their life, that hardly wee can give credit to what historians write of their wonderfull moderation in their publicke expenses, of Pompes, feastings, and shoves; Great men were sober in those ages. Titus Livius, tells us Quintus Cincinnatus was carried from the plough, to the dignity of a dictator; which warre being ended, hee returned chearfully to the plough againe; hee relates alsoe how the Ambassadors of the Samnites found Curius Dentatus, another Dictator, making ready, and cleansing of rootes for his supper, and even at that tyme, hee says, there were noe more in all the Roman Armies of waiting men (such as wee call calones) but two: Marcus Anthonius, not hee (that fatall man to Cicero, and to the Common-wealth,) but a nother Chosen Consull of a great Armie design'd in to Spaigne, had but eight servants, soe Carbo in the same dignity placed, (as wee read) had but seven; what shall I say of Cato the senior, who in the same Employment, power and commission

for Spaigne, had but three; however this Cato named the censor (though contented wisely with such a small retenuue) was Captaine Generall in theire Armie, a famous oratour, and a prudent counselour reputed by the Common-wealth, (in the Common-wealth,) and by all Rome for his sober life, was called a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, a frugall housekeeper, and a man (a great praise in those days) well skill'd in the plough.

Epaminondas a famous Captaine, Protectour, and flower of the Thebans, who fought see many battaills valiantly, nevertheless it is written, hee had but one sute of Cloathes, which, when required reparation, hee was forced to keep house, till mended and brought unto him; This Epaminondas I speak of, dyed soe poore, as not soe much in his house could be had, as to pay his funeralls; which was performed by the Common-wealth.

What need I speak in this place of Phocion, Socrates, and Iphaltes, Miracles of nature, and wisest of Athens? This Phocion, who fought 26. battaills, victorious allways, and triumphant over his enimies, yet a greater dispiser of riches, honours, and titles, (as histories doe testify,) refused one hundred talents, sent unto him by Alexander the great as a Present, demaunding of those brought the Present, what was Alexanders meaning in sending to him alone, and only, that Present, they replyed, for as much as hee

takes you to be the only man of honour, and merit amongst the Athenians: to this hee answered briefly, why then let Alexander leave mee soe during my life, which is a thing I cannot be, if I receive and accept of his talents of gould; vpon the same Phocion, Alexander offered to bestow severall Citties, but hee answered the Messenger, goe, returne, and tell thy Master Alexander, that I took him to bee of soe noble a spiritt, as he would doe nothing that might render himselfe and mee in famous, which is like to follow if I accept of his gift, for hee will be esteemed a bryber, and I taken for a corrupt man, and traitour, to my country. in this place I could make mention of Cato Iunior, Glory of Rome, a man did hate to flatter any body, this Cato brauely opposed Pompeius the great in som things, and denyed him is daughter in Mariage, saying I will not give my Daughter in hostage to Pompeius, for feare that hee himselfe, (by that action) should be against the Common-wealth: yet after Iulius Cæsar became Tyrant, this Cato rancked himselfe on Pompeius his side, soe much was this Cato addicted to poverty, and all sort of hard suffrings, that it is written of him, and of Phocion, that they went a great part of the yeare bare foot, and bare headed.

These prophane examples of those Heroick Champions, I have brought heer expressly to the great confusion of our Christian dissolut great personages, that they may see how these

rare vertues shined , and were Imbraced by Pagans , which they abhor to exercise , or have seen in themselves , Frugality , Humility , honest and discret poverty , zeal to their Country , contempt of wealth and honours , moderation in their pomps , shewes , and , feastings . These are the vertues , and the weapons with which those ancient Heroes kept their common-wealth in peace and Concord , Glory , Wealth , and Prosperity ; with these I say they have eternised their fame to future ages , not with Pride , Ambition , Extortion , Emulation , Deceits , Vaine Assentations , Gluttonies , and the like vices familiare to Christian personages .

Certainly there is nothing procures in a Common Wealth sooner , Envy , & Discord , betwixt person and person , then to see som very rich , and others very poore , (equality among fellow subjects is a pretious pearle in a Commonwealth) for Commonly wealth puts men up to such a height of pride , as to contemne and dispise other beneath them , and they soe dispised , can not but beare enuy , and hatred to those dispises them . *Omne pomum habet suum vermem , veru autem diuitiarum superbia est* , every apple have its owne worme , the worme of wealth is pride ; This age wee live in is mounted to the height of ambition and pride , wee are all going , or would faine goe beyond our reach , pride in our eyes , and pride in our thoughts , pride and ambition in all our actions , now a days forsooth

to set forth an Ambassadour, wee must have a whole legion of servants in their retenne, as if his embassy could beare noe force otherwise unless the wealth of a Common-wealth must be exhausted to support those Extravagancies, Retenues, and needless traynes: whereas honest Cato the Consull (a greater man then they for dignity) contented himselfe with three servants.

The Historian Justinus gives us a rare example of this. After a peace had bene concluded between the Romans and King Pyrrhus, Cineas was sent by him to the Romans for better confirming that agreement. *Ad pacem confirmandam Cineas Roma cum ingentibus a Pyrrhus donis missus neminem, cuius domus muneribus pateret, invenit.* That is "For better confirming a peace with the Romans Cineas being sent to Rome with great presents found noe house open to receive those gifts." O rare contempt of gould and gifts in Rome that in soe vast a citty noe house was found, would receive gifts, noe doore open to Cineas with his gould, alas there is noe such citty now in *rerum natura*: it was Impossible such a citty as Rome was then could be taken or betrayed. We have in England a rare example of integrity in Sir Thomas More Chancellor of that kingdom, a Lady presented him a cupp of gold, a while after a sentence was given for her in a just cause. Sir Thomas received the same; and much commended the workmanship and value thereof, and then had

it filled with Spanish wine, and drank to the Lady, saying, Madam you gave mee a cupp of gold fill'd with good wine and hee dismiss'd her. O when shall England see again such a Chancellor! certainly Chancellor Hyde was not such a man.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Rewards given by the Commonwealth of Rome unto two noble Romans Horatius Cocles and Caius Musius for their rare services don to their country.

THE right order is to begin with the exploits of the two noble Romans, and after to come unto the rewards and remunerations given them for their stupendious service; Titus Livius the fluentest of historians, *Libro Secundo Romanæ Historiæ* setts forth these gallant mens services in this nature; having Porsena King of Etrurians beseiged Rome (saith Livius) *non unquam alias ante talis terror Senatum invasit, adeo valida tum clusina erat, magumque Porsena nomen, nec hostes modo timebut sed suos met cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet;* "Att noe tyme

have such feare ceased the Senat, soe strong a thing then Clusina was, and the great name of Porsena, which did not only feare the enemies but even their owne cittizens, for apprehention the people of Rome stricken with feare of king's againe received into the Citty, and would accept of a peace with slavery."

Porsena made warre with the Romans, to have proud Tarquin their king admitted once againe, whome the same people banished a way with all that race, for the foul rape of chaste Lucretie and other Tyrannies, at this tyme there was a wooden bridg that crossed over the River Tyber supported by many pyles fastened in the ground, through this bridge Porsena's men thought it easy to make their way into the citty, Horatius Cocles a noble Roman, (a man worthy of perpetual prayes) had the keeping of this bridg, when he saw all his men fall back and retyre, hee obtested and prayed them by all that is, or can be deare to the Gods Immortall, and by the sacred liberty they were fighting for, to stick to him, and defend the bridge, otherwise that the enemies would quickly master the bridge, and disperss themselves in the capitale, and hart of Rome, insulting over the Circumscrip Fathers, killing and putting all to the sword, men women and children, hee Further desired and would have them stay, at least to cast and breake downe the bridge by all possible meanes, and that hee himselfe in the meane

tyme would putt a stopp to the Enemies , rushing in upon them ; this would not doe , they must away , two only of the number remaining by him ; “ *Duos tamen* (saith Livius) *cum eo pudor tenuit , ambos claros genere factisque S. P. Lacrium , ac , T. Hermantium.* The rest at length by great entreaty fell upon breaking the bridge , and while they were in that work, he pray’d those two worthy men to goe back unto their Fellows , and hee alone stood looking vpon the Etrurians with flaming eyes , daring them to com , and try battail with him , upbraiding them with the name of slaves to Tyrants , that came to innade the Roman liberty ; the Army stood amazed , beholding this unspeakable wonder , to see one man daring a whole Army , having made a loud cry , they let fly their darts at him , the which this gallant Roman receiued undaunted with his shield , drawing neare they endeavoured to fling him downe from the Bridge , but the Romans having brooken downe the Bridge by this tyme , gave great outcries of joy ; at this Horace being armed leapt into the river , (Saying) *Tiberine pater , te Sancte precor hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias* , notwithstanding the store of darts they flung at him in the river , hee gott a way safe , Swimming over to his owne people , who was very loyfully receiued : The Historian concludes , *Rem ausus est plus famæ habituram , ad posteros quam fidei* ; “ Hee attempted that a thing is to have more fame by posterity ,

then Credit;” In the mean tyme Porsena notwithstanding that this attempt of the Bridge had noe success, kept his close siege to the Citty, in manner that they were in evident danger to be at long running, overcome by his Army; Heer Succeeded a noble action, a gallant man Caius Mutius by name appeared to free the Citty from this Feare, a resolute young Gentleman; fervent in affection to his Country, as Cochles was, Cajus Mutius his designe was to kill Porsena, the great enemy of Rome; resolving in his minde this great enterprize, hee came to the Senate and said, *Transire tiberim patres, & intrare si possim, castra Hostium volo, non præda nec populationum invicem ultor, majus si dij Iuvant in animo est Facinus*; “Fathers conscript, my resolution is to pass over Tiber, and soe rush into the enemies Camp, not to plunder, or to doe any devastation, For, if the Gods will but help mee, I have a greater matter in my minde;” Of these expressions the Senatours approved much, hee departed, and soon came into their Campe, having a knife or dagger under his coat to kill Porsena, and having approached the place the King was, it fell out, that it was a pay-day with the Souldiers, drawing neare hee killed a Commissioner or Secretary neare the King, thinking him to be the King, and soe gott a way, making place for himselfe with his sworde brandishing before him, till at last overlaid by the multitude, hee was taken, and brought

before the King, being questioned who hee was, and from whence hee came, hee answered more like unto a man to be feared, then a man in feare; saying to the King, *Romanus sum cuius, C. musium vocant, hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cædem, et facere, et pati fortia Romanum est*; "A Cittizen of Rome I am, by name *C. mucius*, I thought as an enemy, to Kill an enemy, neither is my hart backwarder to dye, then it hath bine forward to kill you, to doe, and suffer strong things is the part of a Roman." At which undaunted Expressions the King amaized and troubled, commaunded to inuiron him round about with fyre, but the Couragious young man putting his right hand in the fyre, and there holding it, as not feeling the fyre, (said generously,) *En tibi! ut Sentias quam vile corpus sit ijs, qui magnam Gloriam vident*; "Behold! that you may know how vile is the body to those who sees great glory;" The King astonished at the hand burning without any regard of payne, leap't out of his chaire and commaunded the young man to be removed from the Altar, and then said to him these Kingly words, *Tu vero abi in te majus, quam in me hostilia ausus, juberem mactæ virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret, nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque dimitto: tum Musius, quasi remunerans meritum; quandoquidem inquit est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod*

minis nequisti. Trecenti conjuravimus principes Inventutis Romana, ut in te hac via grassaremur, mea prima sors fuit, cæteri, ut cuique ceciderit, primo, quo ad te opportunum fortuna dederit; suo quisque tempore aderunt,

“Be you gon, more Cruel to your selfe then to mee, I would wish you to be of good courage, if that vertue had been for my Country, by the Law of warre, I now dismiss you untouched, unviolated,” to whome Mutius said, as if to recompence the favour don, in as much as you regard vallour, and vertue, you gett that from mee by the benefitt you doe, which you could not by threats. 300 Of the Chiefest youths of Rome, wee have conspired to invade you in this nature, It fell out I should be the first, the rest each one in his owne turne, as it will fall out will performe theire duty. Matuis being sent to the Romans (after this was called Scœvola, for the burnings and woundings of his right hand) Porsenna seeing his life was saved by chance that time, and that there were as yet 200, and ninty-nine more of the Primest of Roman youth designed to the same expedition; of his owne accord hee offered the Romans a-peace, and vpon honourable conditions one of them being (that which they desired above all) that hee would have noe more to doe with Tarquin, or his people; *Alio* (said the King) *Hinc seu bello opus est, seu quiete exilio querant locum, nequid meam vobiscum pacem destineat, dictis facta meliora adjecit.*

Could there be more or nobler services don for a mans country, then these Horatius Cochles and C. Mutius attempted? it is not easy to be desided, which of these two showed greatest vallour and affection to Rome; Cochles hee alone fought a whole Army and freed the Senate, the people from Massacres, and Rome from being taken; Mutius terrifyed King Porsenna, contemned the force of fyre and removed the siege by his strange example of fortitude vpon most honourable conditions for the Romans; Oh two Glorious Champions of Rome! O Immortal Heroes! O Patriots flaming with charity and affection! when shall we finde in this age such unspeakable services? Now as to the rewards given them.

What rewards think you had Horace, and Sœvola given them: as to Horace (as Livius says *Grata erga tantam virtutem Civitas fuit, statua in comittis posita*: "The Citty was kinde and gratfull towards such meritts and vertues, then was by order an image errected in the Senate house for him;" I must confess that was honourably don, but what more? What other recompence and remuneration have they given? *Agri quantum uno die Circumaravit datum*, "As much ground as hee could in one day plough;" what have they lotted for Mutius? *Patres* (sayd Livius) *Caio Mutio virtutis causa, trans tiberem agrum dono dedere*; "to Mutius the senate for his rare virtues hath given beyond the River Tiber a platt of ground as a gift, *Qui postea Mutia prata*

appellata," which afterwards was called by the name of the Mutian Green; Heere you may see the recompence given to these incomparable men was but a few akers of ground, with which theire sobriety remained satisfied, having don all they did out of affection to their country, not for selfe end or hope of remuneration.

Having spoken of the rewards given by Rome to Horatius Cochles, and to Mutius for unparalleled services and attending upon the King in time of his exile; I dare say, in the first place, there is none of the adorers of Ormonds vertues, (not one) will presume to say, that the greatest of all his services hee did the King, came; it could com neare, those of the foresaid Romans; yet if wee compare both their remunerations to gether, theires will appeare like a graine of sand, compared with Mons Olympus, as for the lands given him, hundred thousand of akers, is the meanest gift of all; but what doe I speake of Ormond, Lord of a most ancient family of Earles of above 300 years. (The first Earle of that family Iohn Butler by name, was created in the Raigne of Edward the third, anno. 1328.) When George Lane his recompences are mounted to an vnreasonable measure, a man inferior to thousands, both for his birth and service to the King, Ormond's secretary now Sir George Lane? this Lane, by the King's grant of other mens estates enjoys many thousand akers of ground, far more than Cochles, or Mutius, the deliverers of

Rome had, this new knight had conferred upon him the estates of two worshipfull esquires that of Mr. Thomas Wading of Waterford, and that of Mr. Philip Hore of Kilshalchan; the seate of Kilbarry neare Waterford, hee hath from the former, a delicious place, with the whole estate vpon a thousand pound a yeare, and Kilshalcon within seven miles of Dublin, a faire seat with the livings of eight hundred pound yearly, these gentlemens children (which were many in number) by this munificencie, are to shift for themselves in great misery, the Lord knowes in what condition they are in, and this befalls them and several others, that George Lane should be gratified (an unknowne man). For writing for Ormond, hee has conferred vpon him, other estates, in all neare vpon foure thousand pound annuall rent (this wee are informed) brave rewards for a Secretary; I dare confidently say stout and valiant Collonells, Officers, and Gentlemen of quality, which firmly adhered to the King, Fought stoutly for him, and lost both life in the bed of honour, and estates in his service, have not, nor any of theires, in recompence received the least provision, reward, or comfort: in this I may say that George Lane, his penn hath been more Fortunate and profitable to him, then these noble gentlemens swords have been unto them: a sad incouragement, and cold satisfaction to worthy Royalists to see this little Lane and such like night-sprang-musheroms to have suckt the

Fattness of the earth from farre better plants then themselves, and perhaps the hands of as low men as themselves, will be ready to pluck them up root and branch, when the season shall serue, to cleare the Land of such weeds; by what meanes this will com to pass I am quite Ignorant, but I think the Iustice of God will make way for it, and take, not only from George Lane, and men of that ranck, but even from Ormond, and the greatest of them all, the conferred estates of honest men, for seldom the blessing of God doth accompany unjust plunderers and robbers. And it is the opinion of severall true harted subjects to his Majesty, that things are not like to prosper with himselfe, untill this be don.

But I heare sum body say, Ormond hath don the King great service, though he hath not preserved the Monarchie of Brittain, as Cochles and Mutius did that of Rome, and that his affection to King and Country have been as great as theirs to the Senat, and common wealth of Rome, occation being only wanting: as For his affection to King and Crowne, I beleeeve hee had as much as another noble man, (but to his Country, where hee hath his estate and lands hee had none at all.) If affection to the King can draw rewards, and Remunerations, there be thousands loved the King, and the intrest of the Crowne of England as much as Ormond ever did, and appeared undoubtedly in all occations, against the

Kings enemys, nevertheless thousands of them never had an Aker of ground, nor a Cottage to shelter themselves in, in frosty weather, in recompensation of such affection: therefore I doe heire conclude that Ormond was happily Fortunate in his affections to the King, and Crowne, and others were not, having obtained those Extraordinary rewards from his Royall Majesty, which in the insuing Chapter I doe resolve more amply to discover, and speak of.

CHAPTER XV.

*The Remunerations the Duke of Ormond
had from the King after his
Restauration.*

THESE remunerations will bee found soe great, that you must needs confess Ormond was not Loyall gratis; neither doe I in any way doubt but there bee som Bassa's of the great Turck, and some of the chieftest of them would come and serve our King, and serve him Loyally for soe incredible a recompence as Ormond had; Let us now speak of the quantity and quality thereof according to the best notice wee have received. Wee have said above his Annuall rents before the warre was but seven thousand pound starling (his ancient estate being then incumbred with

Annuitys, and Leases, which otherwise was worth forty thousand pound starling per annum) and at present it is vpon Eighty thousand, now the first part of his new great reuennues is the Kings grant of all those lands of his owne estate which were leased, and morgaged; the rest were grants of other mens Estates, and other gifts of his Majesty: for auoyding the trouble of searching after all his particulare gettings, (many there are without doubt unknowne to mee) I will here put downe certaine Quæres in number 29. Out of which, hee, that will, may take notice of these Immense recompences given him.

*Quæries touching the Present Condition
of his Majesties Kingdom
of Ireland.*

1. Whether it be not demonstrable by search made into the Records of his Majestys Auditor General of Ireland, that had his Majestys Revenue of that Kingdome been well managed, there had been money enough to answer the necessary Charge of that Kingdome?

2. Whether upon search made of his Majestys Exchequer in England, there doth not appear upward of two hundred thousand pounds sent out of England into Ireland since the Duke of Ormonds last Government there?

3. Whether there doth not appear that there were twenty-four subsidies amounting to three

hundred and sixty thousand pounds Assessed by the late Parliament of Ireland?

4. Whether there was not fifty thousand pounds advanced out of the soldiers and Adventurers rents?

5. Whether the aforesaid sums thus extraordinarily raised, do not amount to above six hundred thousand pounds?

6. Whether the aforesaid extraordinary sums would not discharge near Four Years of his Majesties Establishment both in the Civil and Martial List, Independently of the Revenue of that Kingdom?

7. Though the aforesaid sums extraordinarily raised would have paid near Four Years Establishment, yet whether the Martial and Civil Lists be not a Year and half in arrear?

8. Whether his Majestyes Ordinary, certain and casual Revenue, which if well managed, might have fully paid his Majesties necessary Charge, whether vpon the aforesaid Principles it is not demonstrable, that the said revenue hath not discharged more than one year and a halfs Establishment in six years time?

9. Whether it be not demonstrable then, that there hath been more than Four years and a half Revenue embessed in six years time: and whether the chief Governor be not more Faulty in this great miscarriag; then the Earle of Anglesy.

*Quæres in Relation to the Lord
Duke of Ormond.*

1. Whether by sale of offices, as Lord Steward and receipts out of his Majesties Exchequer of England, the Lord Duke of Ormond hath not raised upwards of 30000£?

2. Whether he did not receive by one Act of Parliament of Ireland as a gift, 30000£?

3. Whether it doth not appear by the Records of his Majesties Treasurie in Ireland, that his Grace did receive 12000£. Before his being last Lieutenant?

4. Whether he did not receive 12000£ per annum as Lord Lieutenant, which was a Moyetie more than any Lord Lieutenant received; and that Moyetie amounts in six years to 36000£?

5. Whether it doth not appear that his Grace hath released by the Act of Settlement 60000£: due to honest men and good subjects, vpon his estate before the rebellion?

6. Whether his Grace hath not received 30000£ out of Soldiers and Adventurers lands, which he invaded and entered upon without any Title, as appears by the Records of the court of claymes in Ireland which hath decreed the Lands from him?

7. Whether by the Act of Explanation he hath not got the Cittie of Kilkenny, and six other corporat Townes, together with their Lands and

Liberties, valued by himselfe and his friends of the Councell but at 60000£. though they are well worth 12000£?

8. Whether he did not obtain by special warrant from his Majestie 72000£ out of the Soldiers and Adventurers half year Revenue?

9. Whether there is not confirmed to him 50000£ more by the Explanatory Act, for waving a grant which he got by the Act of Settlement?

10. Whether he had not got as many Gentlemens estates, upon the pretence of enjoying all Lands that he could prove (by witnesses) to have paid him any chiefrey, as is worth at least 150000£ and whether also, he hath not obtained that for the said Lands, no quitt Rent be paid to the King, which grant at 3d. an acre per annum amounts to 26000£?

11. Whether he hath not arbitrarily layd vpon the inhabitants of the City of Dublin 8000£ per annum, amounting (for these six years past of his Government) to 48000£?

12. Whether he hath not against the Fundamental Laws and Magna Charta, inclosed divers parcells of Land belonging to the Kings good subjects without their consent, to the value of 1500£ per annum at the very gates of Dublin, to the great prejudice of that city and the country; the profit of which Land and Park, he hath bestowed upon the Lord of Dungannon and Colonel Cook?

13. Whether it be credible, that his Grace is zealous for the English and Protestant interest, seeing it is not possible for the Soldiers and Adventurers to be reprized according to his Majesties gracious Declaration, when his Grace hath swallowed up in gifts and grants the best part of the Stock of Reprizalls, and hath made or permitted such Embeslements of his Majesties revenue, and applyed the Royal authority, wholly to gain vast advantages to himself, and whether by preferring his own private gains and grants, before the Publique good and the Iust right of the Adventurers and Soldiers, he hath not unsettled the Kingdom of Ireland, and unsatisfied the two main interests of Protestants (the Soldiers and Adventurers) to such a degree, that it it is to be feared, it will be a continual charge to England, to keep to the rules of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation so destroyed and desperate a people: and whether all this expence, trouble and danger, for preserving the Duke of Ormond and his Family (that it is as much Irish as any can be) in other mens Inheritances, and Rights, be the interest of England or agreeable to the Maxims of sound Policy or of Christian piety?

14. Whether such of his Majesties Protestant Subjects of Ireland, as have escaped the Duke of Ormonds Proviso have not Iust grounds to fear that if the same Duke of Ormond should continue in his Gouvernement, and press, as now

he doth, the Payment of 100000 l. they will not be in a condition to live, or to pay his Majesties quit Rents, and the necessary charges of the Kingdom?

15. Whether after the Prohibition of transporting Cattle, and so much oppression, by the Lord Lieutenat and his Creatures, it be possible For his Majesties empoverished Subjects of Ireland, to pay the 300000 l. assessed by the Explanatory Act, whereof the First 100000 l. is for his Grace?

16. Whether his Grace had not a Great regard For his Majesties service, when he lately pressed the King and Councel to call a Parliament in Ireland, For imposing new Taxes vpon that miserable people, and For confirming all his own new acquisitions, whereby the Soldiers, Adventurers and Nominees are defrauded of his Majesties intended Favours, and the English interest utterly destroyed?

17. Whether the Duke of Ormonds gifts and grandis amount not unto 630000 l. and whether this Summe would not have satisfied all the English interest of Ireland, and have settled the Protestants an well meriting Natives of that Kingdome in peace; whereas now his Majesty and all Christendom is troubled with their Clamours against the breach of Publique Faith; and all this stirr, destruction of the people, and discredit of the Government, to humour one particular man, whose merit is not so extraordi-

nary, as his management hath been vnsuccesful.

18. Whether not only some of the Nobility of Ireland but very many of the Nobility, Knights and Gentry of England have not lost greater revenues, and richer moveables for being Cavaliers, then the Duke of Ormond, whose Estate was much incumbered, and his rents before the rebellion exceeding not 7000 l. per Annum, and during the Warr, got more by his Government of Ireland, and giving up Dublin, then he could if he were in possession of his Estate?

19. Whether such as endeavoured to conceale these miscarriages and miseries of the Kingdom of Ireland From his Majesties and the Parliaments knowledg, and yet strive to have the Duke of Ormonds destructive Government continue, deserve not to be questioned by the Parliament, as betrayers of the Publique good, and of the Lawes and Liberties of England?

20. Whether it be fit, that the Government of Ireland should continue so long in one person, as it hath in the Duke of Ormond, though he were not an Irish man, and all his relations were not Papists, and very great Enemies of the English and Protestant interest?

What man can apprehend or read these incredible gettings, and recompenses (given Ormond) without amaizment? By the nine first Quæries you see his grace is as yet countable for many thousands, of thousands of the two hundred thousand pound, sent out of England into Ire-

land, since his last government there; and of the three hundred and sixty thousand pounds assessed by the Parliament of Ireland; and fifty thousand pound advanced out of the Soldiers and Adventerours Rents: and that notwithstanding those vast Summs, the Marshall, and Civil listes were a yeare and halfe in arrears; Let his Majesty call him to question, or Forgive him, both is in his Royall breast to doe; in the 20. Queries in relation to the Lord Duke of Ormond himselfe, you will finde that hee received in all, as in gifts, and grants, that amounted to six hundred and sixty thousand pound starling: if this wonderful and strange masse of treasures be not sufficient Recompence and reward, Let the reader judge; For this amounts (according to Marchants rating a Tunn of gould) to sixty three tunns of gould; one Tunn of gould only makes a great noyse, and surely is a vast somm of monys; what then shall we say of sixty three Tunns? we finde in the Chronicles of England that thirty thousand markes, or Forty thousand, to have been a Queens Dote in Marriage, Elleoner Daughter to King Edward the second, married to the Earle of Gelders. (after made Duke) had but fifteen thousand pound portion, Queen Isabell Dowager to said Edward the second and mother to Edward the third (most Glorious of English Kings daughter and Heire to Philip the Faire of France) had allowed her by her son but a thousand pound joynter a yeare, several

such passages wee may finde in the Cronicles of England, and others; yet the Duke of Ormond, as is to be seen in the 12. Quærie of those in Relation to Ormond, granted the profits of a rent of one thousand five hundred pounds a yeare (the parke hee hath neare to the Gates of Dublin,) to the Lord of, Dungannon, and to Colonel Cooke a Kingly Liberality.

If Father Wailsh or any other will say, that these Quæries are Idle, Frivolous, needless, and of noe regard, I would aske of the same, and know whether matters of Fact, and Propositiones *sensu notæ* (as are the Estates and lands of other men, and the Corporations now actually in Ormonds possession, things that cannot be hidden from the Eyes of men) are Idle, needless, and Frivolous dreames and Fables? noe, but Foule and unhandsomethings against justice, honour, trust committed unto him, and Goverment of that Kingdome of Ireland, conferred by his Majesty upon Ormond.

If his grace or any for him, can answer the sayd Quæries, why is hee, or they soe long mute and silent? they strick home to the quick, they render his integrity suspected, they wound his Fame and honour; certainly if there were any way to answer them, and to prove them False, Father Wailsh had long before now spoken Loudly to the world; If Ormonds integrity and vertues be Calumniated by these Quæries; I wonder there is nothing said in his

vindication ; none appears for him ; but what ? in a matter that cannot be defended , it is but wisdom to be silent ; the whole Country knowes , that Father Wailsh , of all men is most concerned to appeare for Ormond , and vindicate his integrity the best hee can , having in his several writings described him for a vertuous , upright , just , judicious , and most rare statesman , now is the tyme good Friar to prove this , you see to what puzzle hee is brought vnto , by these Quæries ? you see how guilty he is on all sides ? stretch him now your hand if you can , and bring him of clearly and unspottedly from all these blemishes , that staynes his person soe deeply , now in the tyme , I say , to prove him to the world , what you gave in paper of him , and make us all sensible that hee is deservning of those Epitihites , you are pleased to confere upon him , in the little book called the “ Irish colours Foulded , ” you have put downe a Faire method , and good documents I must confess , for finding of Ormond in the charge of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland , when you bid him by all meanes beware of the man of sin (meaning Orrery) who would have his grace buoy up our interest wholly , that is the stronger , and more prevalent of Orrery and his complices ; and sink utterly the other interest ; that of the Catholicks , against all devine and humaine Lawes ; many ridiculous things of this nature hath this Fryar said about his Ormond , and this was one : but Ormond con-

trary to his desire and Counsell buoyed up Orre-ry's interest, and sunk the Interest of the innocent party, because it was the weakest; For which hee had a notable share of the grants, and estates hee now enjoyeth.

I see good Father you are very unfortunate in your concepts of Ormond; who grants nothing of these things you demanded; I have a mind to produce in this place, other lynes of this Fryars (unto Ormond) out of the same Foulded Colours; My Lord (Quoth hee) "I shall minde your Grace of what you know your selfe all-ready, that you shall behould under your Govern-ment a very great number of simple poore Innocents and most afflicted creatures, if any such be in the world, and that you think that God hath Principally created you, and hithertoe preserved you amidst soe many dangers, and now at last inspires our gracious King to send you for them, and therefore that your greatest care must be to open to them your breast with an amorous compassion, extend to them the bowels of your Charity, streatch to them affectionatly your helpfull hands, take their requests, lend eare to their cryes, and cause their affaires to be speedily dispatched, not drawing them along in delays, which may devour them, strengthen your Arme against those that oppressed them, redeem the prey out of the Lyons throate, and the Harpi's talons. By these expressions one would have thought Ormond to be a man, like to doe

great things, but here wee have much smooke, and noe fyre, faire blossoms, and noe Fruite, excellent documents given, and yet nothing done; take the paynes Father to goe up and downe Ireland, and heare afflicted Innocent people, and make a list) of those, to whome Ormond in tyme of his Government "Opened his hart with an amorous compassion, to whome hee did extend the bowells of his charity, to whome hee did streatch out his helpfull hands, those whom hee preserved out of the Lyons throat, or the Harpies Talon." You will com to short of your vaticinations, and hopes, nothing like this, but rather hee was the Lyon prey'd on them, and did noe Iustice to the Orphans as you desired, Nor wipe away the teares of a forelorne widow, hee steeped not in oyle the yoake of a people, which lived on gale and wormwood, and whoe sighed under unsupportable necessityes, Hee hath don nothing in his Goverment for the ease of that people, but along with Orrery and the rest pild, and pul'd them of all: truly good Father you seem to mee a man much enchanted, and indeed to be in a state of blyndness as to your understanding, that Harpaste was in her corporall sight, of whome Seneca, Epist: *quingagesima ad lucilium* writes in this forme, *Harpastem uxoris mea fatuam scis hereditarium donum in domo mea, remansisse, hæc fatua subito desijt videre, incredibilem tibi narro rem, sed veram, nescit esse se cæcam, subinde padagogam suam rogat*

ut migret, ait domum tenebrosam esse ; “ Harpastes, you know, the changling of my wife is a Hereditary legacy in my house, this changling suddainly lost her sight, I tell you an incredible thing, but true; shee doth not beleieve that shee is blinde, now and then shee desires of her guide to remoue from thence, shee says the house is darkc and obscure.”

I am much of opinion Father Walsh, that this is your condition, in relation to what you say, or write of Ormonds affaires, and person; and soe I take my leave in this place of both, leaving you in your manyfold blindnesse in as much, as you will not see; and leaving your Ormond to the Fruition of these vast recompences, or as rather I should say, Robberys of poore orphans and widowes, which will have noe good end; soe much be said of his recompences, received, and rewards; in the next Chapter I shall give a distinct, and the briefest accompt I can of the manifest Iniurys hee hath don to his Country, and Countrimen.

CHAPTER XVI.

*A Relation of some particular Iniuries
the Duke of Ormond hath don
his Countrymen.*

*His subuerting our union with
Vlyssean practizes.*

Notwithstanding all the trust and confidence the generality of that people placed in Ormond, both great and small, yet little affection did hee show to his country, or Countrymen; the first Injury and stratagemme have bine to worke a diuision amongst them, hee was the man let fall the venemous apple of discord in the middle of that vnited body, their vnion, (the basis of all prosperity) continuing, noe power, noe enemy was able to preuaile against them, this union was our onelyest bulwark, and would prove (if not subuerted,) Formidable to our Enemys at home, and abroad: that Commonwealth doth prosper, whose Cittizens are of one accord; *Concordia res parue crescunt, discordia res magnæ dilabuntur.* Ormond his chief Imagination hath bin to take away this vnion, this life of our confederacie; what people, common-wealth, or nation more knitt in mutuall Charity,) at the first beginning of the warre) then wee? The Bishops,

Clergie , Noblemen , Gentry , townes and Cittys , and the common people looked all one way , all possessed with the same flame of Religious zeal to preserve , and recover our libertys , Country ; and religion , all were *Cor unum , et anima vna* , whilst Parsons , and Burlace did gouerne in Dublin , and soe had wee still continued if Ormond had not been chosen Lord Lieutenant ; by whose influence upon the people all was lost , subverted , and supplanted.

If you demand how could Ormond destroy this vnion , and would his relations , even and dearest frinds , which tooke the oath of association , become perjurious and perfidious for Ormonds sake ? Would they forsake the sacred confederacy , and the best quarel in the world for his respect ? I doe not meane to say , this affected him most were , perfidious and perjurious to this country , yea I hold his relations and friends to have been good Catholicks , how then say you could Ormond debauch them from theyre union and confederacie ? his Excellencie , you must understand , had a great number of his relations among us , and many more persons of good quality , that had nothing to do with him , held him for a man of great integritie and affection to his countrie , and took him for a man of virtue , justice , and sound judgment , a man that had power to doe us good , and a good willingness thereunto , and hoped that he would represent unto the king our oppressions and burdens under cruel statesmen ,

that destroyed and enslaved the subjects by their sleights and cunning artifices, and in fine that he would prove the deliverer of this conceipt, which proved but a dreame; conferred all mens affections vpon him, receaving and embracing all the reasons, and such sentiments as he pleased to infuse unto them, and ordered all theyre course (in all wisdom, as they thought) by his ways and dictamen, by this meanes were undermined our union, and our guard destroyed, Ormond's persuasions in Court and countie, his reasons were esteemed the best and wisest; his friends and Faction cry Ormond is a wise man, he loves our interest, understands our cause rightly; this publicke confidence well knowne, hath been no small meanes for him to deceave his Friends, and they deceaved the Generalitie, possessing them with such and such imaginations, till at last we grew in good earnest could in our proceedings; dissensions sprung up, and our union (the life, and strength of our cuntry) dissolved and broaken, desolation and destruction run over all places, and we then began to disagree in our consultations and debates about the publick; jealousies invaded our assemblies, difference rose between such and such Families, between noble men Gentry, and even among the Bishops and cleargy, some speaking high of the British interest, others of the interest of religion, and cuntry: in the concusion we come to be *regnum in re divisum*: in the meane time Ormond,

who acted his part so idly, said to his counsel, and complices, *Devisum est cor Catholicorum, Jam interribunt* my worke is done, they are broken, they are at variance one with another, they prosper no more, That you may more plainly see the influence this great man had over the confederate Catholicks in the supreme counsel, who governed all (consisting of 12) you may know he had usually six of that number, for his trusty friends, the first was Richard Lord Viscount Mongaret (at the beginning of the warr, and for a great while President of the Counsel) this Lord was Brother to Ormond's grandmother, the second was donough Lord Viscount Musgrue (after Earle of Clancartie) who married Ormond's eldest sister, Mr. Richard Bealing's secretarie to the counsel and a member thereof, married to said Viscount Mountgaret's Daughter, Mr. Garat Fenel Doctor physick, intimeat domestick counselour to Ormond for some yeares, Mr. Patrick Darcy a Famous lawyer, counsell in law to the house Ormond. Mr. Gefferry Browne a sound and good lawyer, and Sir Lucas Dillon Knighte an able personage, both much addicted to Ormond's wayes esteeming them the best: as for the Lord of Mountgaret, he was a plain simple man, but the other five were substantial Peeces as the land could afford, Ormond was theire delight darling, and joy, and though they had witt sufficient to understand his ways, and ponder his evill designes, this they have not don,

but rather gave him full scope to worke what hee pleas'd, out of the fore-spoken confidence placed in him; by this meanes these wise-men were deceived, deluded and inueagled away, and wee with them; our repentance is to late, and without remedy, and wee finde our error Fatall and irrecoverable, and wee have lived to see Ormond close with our deadly enemys, and himselfe the greatest enemy of them all. *Sed sero Sapient phruges.*

This Lethean cupp ministered by Ormond unto us, the confederates, stupified out wit soe much, as wee could neither understand nor perceive one another, wee became much like to the confusion of Babell, when one sought for stone, the other gave him sand, and when sand, hee brought him stones,

But the first stepp to our confusion was treaties of cessations, by those conferences hee deceived our people, who went still vpon the opinion of his affection, he spunn us out with new devices, and delays, and in the Intrim wee omitted the opertunity of doeing service, wayting dayly for apeace, for Ormond had brought us to that fools paradise, as we neglected our owne preservation; great matters hee promised to our committie of treaty, a good peace, the which when wee had, was worth nothing, as formerly said, where I advertised you how the Committie of treaty failed to performe the instructions given them, and to conclude noe peace without insisting on

them, but cleare sighted men, that trusted not in Ormond as those men did, found those articles to be a plaistered bussiness, as a boue said. If Ormond had power from the King to grant better Articles, then the thirty Articles; will not your understanding be convinced, that hee playd foully with the confederate Catholicks, and that his intention was not frindly nor honest, and that his only designe hath bine to deceive us? his Majesty in a letter to Ormond december the fiftieth 1644. Oxford, hath these words.

• Ormond.

“I am sorry to finde from Colonell Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find soe good and speedy remedie as the peace of Irland, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affaires heere, wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which, I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instructions and power” &c. Some what lower downe he hath thes Words, “and to show this is more then words, I doe hierby promise them, and command you to see it don, that the penal statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution” &c. and concluds the letter thus, “soe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Irland and my necessary supplie from thence, as I wrot you in my last privat letter, I rest.” Of an other letter to the Marques of Ormond, Feb: 1644. Oxford are these

words. "And now again I can not but mention vnto you the necessitie of hastning of the Irish peace, for which I hope : you are allredy sufficiently furnished from me of materialls ; but in case peace cannot be had vpon those tearmes you must not by any meanes fall to a new rupture with them but continue the cessation , according to a postscript in a letter by Iack Barrys , a copie of which dispatch I Heere with send you , soe I rest."

POSTSCRIPT.

"In case vpon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, vpon powers I have alredy given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seeke to renew the cessation for a yeare, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it noe cheaper) to joyne with them against the Scot and Insiquin" &c. Those Letters are to be seen in the Kings book stiled *Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ*. By thes lines you see how clearly his Majestie insisted vpon a peace with the Irish, and fayled not to that effect to send Ormond materials sufficient to satisfie the Irish Catholicks, having heard theyr complaints and theyr reasonable articles, for they demanded no other then the libertie of theyr religion, benefit of theyr estates and priuiledges, yet Ormond in his peace of 30. Articles granted not thes things, nor was

it in his thought to joyne with us against the Scot and Insiquin the Kings professed enemies, who owned for theyr master the vsurping power, and parlement of England, and there were reports grounded vpon very good presumptions, that he sent some of his forces to asist the Scots in the North against us.

* We come now to a third and maine agrivance and injurie done the confederat Catholicks, which was the yealding up of Dublin castel, sword and all to the Parliament, notwithstanding that the Queen and Prince sent from Paris a gentleman expresly instructed to his excellencie, to prevent the giving up of these places to the Kings enemies and rather to close up a peace with the Catholicks (the only way then appearing for settling the Kings affaires) this action hath been one of the vglyest things Ormond ever did, to render therefore my reader fully capable of this perfidious proceeding, I shall be obliged to enlarge my selfe therevpon, this will be made cleare out of a discourse of the Iorney that the Agent sent from the Qucen and Prince (Mr. Wintergrant a Catholick Gentleman) made himselfe, who came to Ormonde with his letters and instructions before he had given up the castell of Dublin; (the cittie was rendered before to the parliament) the cheefest part of the discourse runs thus: " his Majestie being a prisoner at homby, and all negotiation for his deliverance and restablishment
3' Injury.

rendered frivtless , it was thought fitt by the Queen and Prince of wales with theyre counsel, that some body should be sent to Ireland with letters and instructions to my Lord of Ormond for settleing of a peace in that Kingdome," for that purpose said Mr. Wintergrant was chosen, and accordingly receaved certain instructions sent by the Queen , all these instructions tended to the settlement of peace between the confederat Catholicks and the King's partie, as appeareth by the express words of the second instruction : " ye shall inform the said Lord Lieutenant how sensible we and the Prince are, of the present troubles, of the kingdom , as well in consideration of the King's affayres in generall , as Particularly out of the apprehension of the great and imminent danger that may thereby happen to those which yet remain under the obedience of him the said Lord Lieutenant, and how desirous we and the Prince are to contribut all that is in our power to reconcile the things in question between the said Lord Lieutenant and the confederate Catholicks of Irland , whereby all of them may be firmly United under the authoritie of our dearest Lord the King and thereby enabled to defend themselves against the common enemy , and seasonably assist the King in his other dominions : he also brought letters to the Lord Nuncio and Romain clergy and to several noble men , and to certaine corporations and citties to be first shewed to Ormond and as he pleased to be delivered or

not delivered, all was left to Ormonds breast, and this Mr. Wintergrant was to pursue all his instructions in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant shall thinke fitt, and in all other things ye shall saith the instruction governe yourselfe according to the advice and orders of the said Lord Lieutenant," In the sixet instruction are these words; "If he the said Lord Lieutenant shall direct ye to repayre to the Lord Nuncio, Assembly, Clergy, or supreme counsel of the Irish nation, or to the General assembly now met at Kilkennie, ye shall vpon all occasions, when your discretion shall think fitt, publish a vow and declare the great inclination which we and the Prince have to contribut effectually all that "shall be proper for us and him, to the speedy concluding a happy peace in Irland."

These were one sort of instructions I received saith Mr. Wintergrant, which were not to be kept soe privat but that they were in some cases communicable, but these that follow not soe:

Privat Instructions.

"You shall deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland fourtien blanks now given to your possession by us, and the Prince, two whereof were joyntly signed by us, and the Prince, six others signed by us alone, and the other six by the Prince alone.

"You shall acquaint the Lord Lieutenant that

wee and the Prince doe authoriez and apoint him to fill up all the said blanks in such manner, and to such purpose, and with such contents, as hee shall think most proper for the service of our dearest Lord the King in his Irish affaires, and ye shall assure him the said Lord Lieutenant that as wee and the Prince repose this trust and confidence in him, that hee shall make use of them as he shall think fitt, for the advancement of the peace in Ireland; soe will both of us at all tymes avow, and justify those instruments soe to be filled up by him as our owne acts, and as don by our owne particular directions, and command; you shall more particularly acquaint the Lord Lieutenant from us, and the Prince, that if in the treaty of peace, or in the conclusion thereof, hee desires to be assisted with any further authority grounded upon any letters sent to him from the kinge or otherwise in our power, then we desire him the said Lord Lieutenant to fill up his blanks signed by us, or the Prince with such authority from us, or from us and the Prince, or from the Prince only in such manner as hee shall finde most proper, and conducing to such a peace.

“ You shall likewise particularly acquaint him the Lord Lieutenant, that if hee shall finde it proper for the advancement of the peace there, that your selfe, or your selfe with any others now in Ireland should in our name, and authorised by us, repair to the assembly-General now held at Kilkennie, or the supreme counsel of the

Irish, or to any other body or persons with the overtures of a treaty or any particular, in order to, concerning or conducing to the same; our desire is, and we hereby authorise him the said Lord Lieutenant accordingly that hee should fill up one or more of the said blankes, signed by us in the nature of a commission letter, or instructions with such authority from vs, and in such manner as hee shall think fitt, and that hee would accordingly insert the name of such person or persons as hee shall think fitt to be joyned with you in this Imployment from vs.

“These particulars you are to communicate to none but the Lord Digby, and Lord Clanrikard, unless the Lord Luutenant shall think fit to give you other orders concerning the same.

“Then followeth the Princes approbation of all the instructions of both sortes, with his command to put them in execution in these words.

Charles Prince.

“Wee have perused and doe fully approve of your instructions bearing date herewith, and Signed by our Royal Mother; and doe appoint and authorize you soe far as you shall finde vs named therein to put the same in execution.”

Charles Prince.

“Wee have perused, and doe fully approve of

your private instructions bearing date herewith, Signed by our Royall Mother, and hierby appoint and authorise you soe farre as you shall finde vs named therein to put the same in execution."

"With these instructions and many letters not only to my Lord Lieutenant Lord^e Clanrikard, and Lord Digby; but alsoe from the Queen to the Nuncio and Cleargie, to O Nelle and Preston, with all the considerable persons then amongst the Irish, I parted from Paris a bout the 16. of march 1647. in Companie of my Lord Crafford &c.

"From Nantes I landed at Waterford the 6th. or 7th. of Aprill, and yet so vnluckely as the assembly at Kilkennie had brooke vp that night at ten of the Clock, which they would not have done had they first heard of my landing, for soe Mr. Barron, (whoe hath been an Agent hier in France for the confederat Irish) and to whome I sent a post soe soon as I was in waterford, writt back to mee; indeed I was very unfortunat for the Assembly had both power and meanes, to doe or undoe, what they had don in order to a treaty, which the supreme Counsell limited within bounds by the Assembly, afterwards had not.

"Being com to Kilkennie I was by Mr. Barron brought to the Counsell, to whome (after they had caused mee to sitt in a Chaire not farre from my Lord of Antrim their President nor

would they heare mee till I had done soe) I delivered the cause of my coming thither, which was the Queen and the Prince his desire of peace in that Kingdom, and for the Queen shee was not only moved unto it for the Kings interest, but alsoe by a zeale to the Catholick Religion and good of the People.

“ The day I came to Dublin I was that night brought to my Lord of Ormond, to whome I delivered such letters as were for him, and then said, that hee was sure those letters expressed civilitys from the Queen and Prince; much better then I could; and that therfore I had nothing more now to say untill I had such instructions disiphered as I had, which were many, and would take vp som good tyme, and by which his Lordship would finde the confidence her Majesty and the Prince had in him, which was soe great, as noe reports could shake, though wee had weekly newes, of his treaty with the Parliament for delivery of those places under his commaund, to which his Lordship replied, that confidence shall never deceive them, and that hee who had ventured himselfe, his wife, and all his Children in the Kings service, would make noe sample of venturing or casting away one scruple when there shall be cause, (this hee spook because one of his sons was then hostage with the Parliament,) yet if there be necessity hee should give up those places under his commaund, hee would rather give them to the English Rebels,

then to the Irish Rebels, of which opinion hee thought every good Englishman was; to this I replied nothing."

Ormond having seen and perused these premisses, and now spoken of instructions, I demaund in this place, what his grace can aleage for himselfe, that can excuse his backwardness in satisfying the resonable and just demaunds of the confederat Catholicks? Hee cannot say hee wanted power and authority for concluding a peace with them, seeing hee might insert in the papers of 14 blanks what conditions, what Articles hee pleased himselfe, the Queen and Prince being resolved To owne and justify the same as theire Royall act and deed; Further, hee had from his Majesty a great latitude of power, to compass such a peace as the Queen and Prince (then) desired, (notwithstanding the rejection of the peace, of 46, as is to be seen, by the Kings Letter to Ormond Februarii 27th 1647. in these words, page 258, of *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*,.

Ormond.

The impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Irland, by a continuation of warr, having moved me to give you the power and directions; which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same proving dayly much more Evident, that alone were reason Enough for mee, to enlarge your powers, and to make any commands in the point more

positive, but besides these considerations, being now manifest that the English rebels have (as farre as in them lyes) given the command of **Ireland** to the Scotts, that theire ayme .is at a total subversion of Religion and real Power, and that nothing less will content them or purchase peace. Heer I think my self bound in conscience, not to let slip the meanes of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience, never to loose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects for such samples as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be struck at by mee for theire satisfaction; I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace, with the Irish, whatever it cost, soe that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved; but for all this you are to make for mee the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargment of power, till ye needs must, and though I leave the management of this great matter, and necessary worke intirely unto you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between ye there, and the present taking away the penal laws against Papists, by a law will doe it; I shall not think it a hard bargaine, soe that freely and rigorously they engage themselves in any assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which noe conditions can be hard, not being "against conscience or honour."

Can there be any thing clearer then these expressions? can there be a larger commission given, or a more streighter commaund layd on Ormond for compassing speedily a peace with the Irish Catholicks, then what is repeated heer? can Ormond pretend hee wanted power to conclude a peace, or the King a willingness to have it done; his Majestyes intentions, desires, and solicitations to that effect, are vrged in these words, "what ever it cost soe my Protestant subjects may be secure, and Royal authority;" there is nothing soe certaine (securing Catholicks Religion) then that wee desired, and vnanimously minded to secure the Kings intrest and prerogative and to help him to our power, and not to molest or trouble any of his Protestant subjects, if not provoked by themselves therevnto; take notice in this place of his royall assent, to a Suspension of Poynings act for such bills as should be agreed vpon betwixt Ormond and us, and the takeing away the penal Lawes against us, neither did hee think it a hard bargin "soe wee freely and vigorously engaged our selves in his Royall service against his Rebells of England and Scotland," and says, "noe conditions can be to hard, soe this be don, and that in performing it nothing is against conscience, and honour;" heer you may observe the distinction his Majesty makes at that tyme betwixt his Catholick subjects of Irland, and those his Protestant Rebells of England, and Scotland, his Majesty, (whose intrest it was,

and the only Iudge of that fact, to aprove, or disapprove us as such,) gave each according his desert, calling us his Irish subjects, and those of England and Scotland his Rebels, yet Ormond in his conference with Mr. Wintergrant, calls us otherwise, (euen Rebels as those of England and Scotland were,) adding therevnto that if there were necessity to give vp those places vnder his command, vnto any of the three nations, hee would rather make them over to his English rebels then to his Majestys faithfull Irish subjects; of which opinien hee thought every good Englishman was: to which expression, Mr. Wintergrant (a Roman Catholick and a person who had a better opinion of theire conscience, then Ormond) replied nothing.

By the prefated expressions of Ormond, you see how hee declared himselfe for an Englishman, and being the Kings Lieutenant in that Kingdome, hee showed himselfe only exteriorly for the King, but interiorly a right Parliamentier, as by his severall open disobediences and destructive delays to the King, Queen, and Princes orders and instructions, (as to the hastning of the Irish peace) is manifested; such a one in effect I must confess, his darling Orrery would have him to be, by all attributes, of Religion, breeding, person, speech, dispositions, by his Lady and children, and predecessors (though Irish, and well skild in the Irish speech, and of 480. yeares and more standing in that

country) would to God Orrery had gotten his wish in this, and that his Ormond had been of two sydes an Englishman, and that our Country, and Countrymen had never knowne Ormond, Orrery, or Orrerys father: were it soe, things had gone far better with vs, and with the country; you see how this Statsman makes noe difference between the confederate Catholicks, and the Rebells of Scotland, and England, whoe got vp in actuall Armes against the King, who bought and sould him & had him close Prisoner at the same tyme, these words were spoken by Ormond: can Ormond produce such an oath of association (made, and agreed vpon by the Parliamentary party) to maintaine the Kings prerogatives, rights, person and Royall interest, as wee have made and set forth vnto the world? vpon all occations, and in all places, even in the lowest ebb of his Majestys affaires, wee spoke with veneration and respect of his sacred person, when they in pulpits, streets, banks, and theaters, in their privat meetings and Counsels disdainfully violated his sacred person, and persued him even in their new books, as you may see in the Heu! and Cry! of Mercutius Britanicus, ridiculously set forth in this forme.

“If any man can bring tale and tydings of a wilfull King, which hath, wilfully gon a stray from his Parliment with a guilty conscience, bloody hands, hart full of broaken vowes, and

protestations, if these marks be not sufficient, there is another in the mouth, for bid him speak and you will soon know him, then giue notice to Britanicus, and you shall be well payd for your paines; God saue the Parliment."

These and such like scurrilous disrespects, to his Royall person would be their quotidian pastime, yet our good Ormond was pleased to list vs in the ranke and cathalogue of those ridiculous "prophaine Rebels. His Vncle, and his Brother-in-law, the two prefated Viscounts, and the rest of his affected frinds, would hardly believe (had an Angel affirmed it) that Ormond would harbour soe hard a thought of the confederate Catholicks, whom hee knew full well in his hart to be good, faithfull, and zealous subjects. Now notwithstanding all these instructions, and the Kings letter before mentioned, with all the instances Mr. Wintergrant could make, (which were done with a great deal of care and judgment) notwithstanding the accommodation (which I shall insert heere) sent by the confederate Catholicks to Ormond, notwithstanding all this I say, hee yeilded up to the Kings enemys the Castle of Dublin, the sword, and all, in which and by which action, hee discovered his hatred to the confederate Catholicks, his affection to the Parliament, his disrespect, and manifest disobedience to the Kings orders and commands, and to those of the Queen and Prince. Neither

wanted Ormond (as some men did think) his hidden reasons that moved him to neglect soe much, and sleight the Royall authority.

His Logick made him discourse thus secretly with himselfe : the King is prisoner to his Parliament, and noe hopes left for his redemption, hee is like to perish there ; the Queen alsoe and the young Prince they are exiled , what can they doe ? They are not able to help themselves, much less to procure any forraigne assistance for his Majesty : the Parliment of England, with Crumwell have drawne all England to their owne side with Scotland , and a great part of Irland , as the large province of Ulster , where the Scot insulted , and that part of Munster , where Insequin with his Army remained under obedience of the Parliment: my best way then will be (quoth Ormond) to play my owne game the best , and make good use of the tymes ; I will therefore appeare exteriorly for his Majesty , and yet oblige the Parliment in yielding up to them the Castle of Dublin , with the Kings sword and all the faire county of Dublin , rather than keep it and take part with the Irish , (and this I will doe notwithstanding the Queen and Princes orders and commands to the contrary) for I may well feare , the Irish Catholicks and I (though joyned with them) will be at long running mastered by the Parliment ; who will be mindfull of mee in due tyme for soe necessary and frindly an action. And truly it fell out so , for though they showed

noe personal favour to Ormond, they showed great kindness to his Lady allowing her three thousand pound starling for her joynter (as above said) and Crumwells children were not less frindly to her children, and all this kindness hath been done them, by all liklyhood in recompensation of Ormonds giving up the cittie, castle, and county of Dublin to the Parliment.

Projects of Policy are deep and secret, and likly this act of Ormond was the Policy and wisdom the Lord Digby meant, when hee sayd to Mr. Wintergrant, that the Lord of Ormond was wiser, then to unite with the Irish Catholicks. But in the meane tyme what became of his Loyalty? Of his great zeal to his Majestys interest? Of his obedience to the Royall commands, and to the orders, and instructions of the Queen and Prince? Herein the King was sleighted, the Queen and Prince put by, who as they held the preserving of Dublin, the castle therof and country about it, to be the Kings great interest, and beneficiall for his Majesty, soe alsoe they did think the delivering up of all to the Parliment would prove a very great loss, and destruction to his Royall intrest; for preventing of which loss, and mischief, orders, commands, instructions, and all power were sent from Queen and Prince by Mr. Wintergrant to perclose a peace with the confederate Catholicks at what price soever.

If the neglect committed herein by Ormond

(sleighting the Royal powers and authority, a clear argument of disobedience to him in both) hath redounded to the utter overthrow of the Catholicks, and Kingdom, and consequently of his Majesty' intrest therin; you my reader may judge, or any other Impartiall Iudgment?

CHAPTER XVII.

*The accommodation sent by the confederat
Catholicks to Ormond Lord Lieutenant
for preserving of the Cittie, and
Castle of Dublin with the lands
about it, rejected by him,
and the reasons given
by him for such
rejection.*

GENTLE Reader, heer before I give you the accommodation presented, and offered by the Confederate Catholicks, vnto Ormond, I think it necessary to give you first, the sound observation of an vnderstanding and discreet Member (made vpon the same accommodation) of the said confederate Counsell of Catholicks, which shall serve you as a guiding light to the clearer vnderstanding how the matter was carried on, which was word to word as followeth.

That the late Articles of pacification con-

cluded with the Lord Marquis of Ormond Anno 1646. Being rejected by the generall assembly with an vnanimous consent, by reason the Lord Marquis of Ormond did not grant those conditions vnto which hee was authorized by his Majesty, and for that the King was brought vnto a condition incapable at present to performe any thing that was granted, and for that there was noe security in them for Religion or Nation, and the insecurity not com to the knowledg of the confederats, vntill after the late pacification was published; the late generall assembly in the begining of March last, Imployed Mr. Giffery Barron som tyme before Imployed in France, and Mr. Gerrald Fennell, both persons of great trust, vnto the said Marquis with the inclosed heads or Overtures of an accommodation to continue vntill his Majesty were in a free condition to grant honourable and safe conditions vnto the confederats, and the said Marquis after receiving the said Overtures by vertue of a letter of Credence from the said Mr. Barron and Mr. Fennell returned answer to the assembly, that hee would send his answers by messengers of his owne, first giving great hopes vnto those Imployed by the assembly, that hee would never Ioyne with the Parliment.

“The assembly expecting this answer for one and twenty days received it not to the hazard, and very great charge of the Kingdom; his Lordship in the interim treated with the Par-

liament Commissioners, and the assembly fully possessed with a belief that his Lordship would never conclude with the Parliament, a few days before the adjournment sent Theobald Butler Major of Hors in the Catholick Army to his Lordship, to know the cause which might retard or stay his Lordships answer soe long, and soe much expected; at whose coming thither the said Marquis (having as it seemes concluded with the Parliament, delivered hostages vnto their Commissioners, Viz. his sonne the Lord Richard Butler, and the Lord Dyllon, the Earle of Roscomon a considerable Peere, and native of this Kingdom, Collonell Arthur Chischester sonne and haire of the Lord Viscount Chischester, and Sr. Iames Ware Knight, a person of consideration with him, and of the Privie Counsell) hier vpon the said Lord Marquis tould the said Major Butler, that hee would never propound anything to the confederate Catholicks that was in their power to deny him."

The Assembly receiving this answer soe much tending to the Kings disservice, by which the hopes of an accommodation was frustrated, they being solemnly sworne to endeavour an accommodation with him, (which were consistent with Loyalty and Catholick Religion) on the fourth currant adjourn'd it selfe vntill the 12th of November next; soone after Monsieur Tallone, and Monsieur Munnery Residents to the King of

France arrived heer, and being with vs at the Counsell declared that most of theire bussiness hither was to solicit an accommodation tending Chiefly to the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and wee did on all occasions declare our willingness and rediness to effectuate the same, and after severall Iourneys made by the said Monsieur Tallone to Dublin, wee did condescend to enlarge the Cessation at first agreed vpon to the 17th of April, which was performed. And after condescended, that in case good and particulare hopes were demonstrated unto us, wee would out of zeal to our liege Lord the King, and in our great expectation of the interposition by them promised of the Crowne of France; embrace a Cessation for six monthes, soe that in the interval the Lord Marquis would accept noe Parliment forces into any of the Garrisons under his command, and give good assurance for his performance therein; whereupon Monsieur Tallone repaired to Dublin, and brought unto us his Lordships absolute denyall of Cessation for more than three weekes, unto which wee could not condescend, in regard wee had just and pregnant courses of feares, that the said Lord Marquis did but seek that short Cessation in expectation of forces from the Parliment, (whereof we had well grounded intelligence from London and otherwise;) and his Lordship having during the treaty with us received men from the Parliment into Dublin, and others his Garrisons, and wee

having understood that his Lordships reason for not granting a Cessation for the six monthes propounded, was that thereby all hopes of his agreement with the Parliment had bin taken away, and that then of necessity hee must throw himselfe on our party, before hee could fairly fall of from the Parliment, which, whether hee can doe or noe, the delivery of the hostages and theire quality, and the forces by him allready received, and the dayly expectation hee hath of more, and the late propositions by him sent to the Parliment (which if assented unto by the Parliment, hee declared himselfe to stick unto them) being considered it may be easily judged wherein the Impediment to an accommodation lyeth.

Adding to the premises for the more clear understanding of our real desires to entertaine an accommodation with the Lord Marquis of Ormond, for preserving and continuing the places under his Majestys obedience, which his Lordship holdeth, that since our propositions sent him, to put his Lordship in minde of an accommodation, hee did neither by message or otherwise authorise any to treat further with us there upon, but utterly sleighted that treaty, by which wee had noe encouragement given us to listen to a cessation, which in itselfe was noe way profitable to the affaires of the Confederate Catholicks, for the reasons affore-said, other then in order to the hopes wee might have of an accommodation,

the copy of which propositions is herewith sent.

Besides the motives afforesaid, wee have it by assured and certaine intelligence, that the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath already concluded with the Parliament, and hath upon confidence of prevailing for a short cessation with us, assured them that hee would hold what hee enjoyeth untill the month of May, expecting then the Parliament of England their Supply.

*Overtures for an accommodation delivered by
Doctor Gerrald Fennell, and Geffrie
Barron Esquires from the Generall
assembly of the Confederate
Catholicks to the Lord
Marquess of Ormond
in March 1647.*

1. That each party should continue their respective government independant of each other, within such quarters, as by the accommodation shall be agreed on, until a peace.

2. That both should joyne in a warre, both by sea and land against the Enemys of his Majesty, and this Nation, and that neither party shall make Peace, Cessation or other Agreement, or entertaine any Commerce or Traffick with the said Enemys without the consent of each other untill a peace.

3. That Dublin and other Garrisons in your Lordships quarters may be secured against the said Enemie.

4. That the Confederat Catholicks within the quarters, that by this accommodation shall be agreed upon to be left to your Lordship, shall be secured of the free enjoying of their Religion, lives, Estates, and libertys.

5. The like for all other Catholics in the said quarters.

6. That your Lordship shall permitt none to live within your quarters, but such as will swear to the performance and accommodation.

7. That your Lordship shall enjoy the profitts of your Estates in the quarters of the Confederate Catholicks, paying such contributions out of it, as the said Confederats shall doe out of theires.

8. That the Confederats will contribut to the maintenance of your Lordships Charge, by reason of your place in a Competent way.

Could there be any accommodation thought on, more profitable to the King, more considerable to the Queen and Prince his expectation, and more advantagious to Ormond himselfe, (who therby had the rents of a great part of his Estate, of that I meane, that laid within the Catholick quarters) then this? Let any indifferent conscientious man tell mee if any thing could be more Loyall, or laying forth our great affection to our King in the distressed state hee then

was in, then this? Heer you have Ormonds answer to said accommodation, sent by Mr. Wintergrant vnto the supreme Counsell the 10th of may 1647.

The answers were as followeth.

The two first propositions are such, as apeare fitter to be treated in a League offensive and defensive between neighbouring Princes, then between his Majestys governour of a Kingdom, and his subjects of the same declined from their obedience, with whome it is inconsistent with his Majestys Lieutenant to ioyn otherwise, then by their returne to their obedience, and submission to his Majestys Authority.

2. To, the third. When they are thus returned to their obedience, and have submitted to his Majestys authority, it will then be seasonable, to consider of securing the Garrisons.

3. The five other propositions are such as may be fitt to be considered in case of a sessation, which, when they shall propose vnto vs, wee shall take it into our consideration, and give such answers thervnto as shall be reasonable.

You see the nature and condition of this answer. Ormond would not com to any accommodation with the Confederate Catholicks, because they were (as hee saith) declined from their obedience, vntill they had returned againe to their former obedience and submission to his

Majestys Authority ; yet the very same tyme the same Ormond treated publickly of a peace with the Parliment party (a peace is of a higher nature then an accommodation) open and knowne Rebels to the King , and who had his Majesty at the very same tyme theire close prisoner , and not only treated with those rebels , but even yielded up to them the Cittie of Dublin , the Castle , sword , and all appertaining therunto.

Ormond gave to the confederate Catholicks and their propositions of an accommodation the answer , hee should have given the Parliment party , hee should have said to their commissioners (with whome hee then treated) that it was not consistent with his Majestys Lieutenant to treat with them , untill they had set his Majesty at full liberty , laid downe Armes , restored to the King his Townes , Forts , and Navy , acknowledging theire obedience and sworne aleagence unto him. This hee did not , but perclosd a peace with them as above was said. If this his acting , (when hee could have preserved the Kings Cittie and intrest from his enemys by an accommodation with the Confederate Catholicks , as the King had commaunded , and the Queen and Prince ordered by theire express instructions sent to him by Mr. Wintergrant) can be excused from treason , let any indifferent man judge.

Soe much I thought fitt to mention of Mr. Wintergrant his Imployment , of the Queen and Princes orders and instructions for concluding a

peace with Irish Catholicks, and of the Kings express commaunds to Ormond to the same purpose, of the diligence of Monsieur la Munnerie, and Monsieur Tallone to that effect in the name of the French King their Master, as alsoe of the Articles of the aforesaid accommodation most advantagious to the Kings intrest offered by his subjects the Confederate Catholicks.

Put all these together my gentle reader, and then judge if Ormond hath not showed himselfe (transacting with the Parliment) disobedient to the Kings commaunds, and to those of the Queen and Prince, an Enemy to the Catholicks of Irland; and a frind to the usurping Parliment.

I now pass to a great and irreparable injury don to the whole Nation by his Grace (a graceless action) the excluding of all the Catholicks of Irland from the benefitt of the general pardon and indemnity, granted to all his other subjects, of what Religion soever.

CHAP. XVIII.

*How, and by whome, were the Catholicks
of Irland excluded from the benefitt
of generall pardon.*

CERTAINE it is, that the King intended the pardon and act of Indemnity as well for the Catholicks

of Irland, as for those of England, and the rest of his subjects, which is made cleare and evident by his Majestys speech in favour of the Irish Catholicks, in the house of Peeres, July 27th 1660. "I hope (said the King) I need not put you in minde of Irland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy, they have showne much affection to mee a broad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.

Could the Kings intention of the benefitt of pardon and his mercy to the Irish Catholicks be spoken in more cleare and noble expressions? but this Ormond (to his Eternall infamy be it said) hath cruelly opposed, in propounding a wicked and cunning proviso in the house of Peeres, which their Lordships thought would have satisfyd us, and soe have just past it by: by this perfidious fraud of Ormond, wee have been exempted from the benefitt of the Indemnity. This is the grace Ormond (Peter Walsh his saviour of the Irish Nation) hath don us, for which the malediction of God will likely fall upon him and his posterity.

After being excluded from the generall pardon, Ormond, Clarindon, Orrery, Cloathworthy, and the rest of that holy Synagog put their heads together for drawing up a Bill of Settlement of the Kingdoms of Irland, (soe powerfull they weare in cheating his Majesty as hee gave them his ordinance for conceiving said

Bill of Settlement, and their owne Secretary had the penning of it.) By the artifice of those great men, and force of that Bill wee have lost for ever our Lands, Estates, and the liberty of free born subjects. This Bill is of an Immens Bulck, fraght with faire Language and barbarous contents and proceedings. (They call it the Kings most gracious Declaration for the Settlement of Irland :) This monstrous Bulck with all its substance therin, hath bine reduced into few heads by a learned Laeyer as followeth.

The substance and sens of the vast bill of settlement.

1. By the late act of Parliment made for the settlement of Irland, all that might pretend to be free from the guilt of the late Commotion are concluded from being heard, and their estates disposed for the most part, to such of the English as served the Vsurper Cromwell against his late and now Majesty.

2. Those, who submitted to the peace concluded by his late Majestys Authority in the yeare 1648, are by the said act debarred from the benefitt of the articles concluded in, and by the same peace, and the publick faith then given denied them, as hath bine already decree'd.

3. Innocents are secluded from being restored to their houses in Corporations, a few excepted,

whoe were restored to their houses by his Majestyes Letters.

4. Catholicks are not suffered to have their freedom in Corporations , or liberty of trafficke.

5. The Lords and other Catholicks , whoe had presentations of benefices , are secluded from the benefit of their said Privileges , except they become Protestants.

6. All the Nobility and gentry , that submitted to said Peace of 48. and put themselves to vast charges and expences in raising troopes , and Regiments of Horse and foote, to serve his Majesty against the Usurper , have lost their Estates, and their Lands settled upon those , who made the Vsurpers quarrell their owne , and fought vnder him against the King and his Catholic subjects of Irland ; and not only that , but are alsoe excluded from all Imployments in the Kings service , or Common wealth , except they renounce their Faith.

By these meanes they are brought to great distress , want of Creditt , Livelyhood , and reliefe ,
Nil nisi vota supersunt.

A short Ponderation upon these Branches.

1. Never was pronounced from the begining of Christianity , to this day , a more vnjust and wicked sentence against Christians then have been by this act , which beares the name of the Kings most gracious Declaration , for the settlement of Irland.

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2. What can there be more cruell, more vnjust, more impious, then to hinder one to answer for himselfe, and prove himselfe Innocent; what more against the law of nature? What can there be more iniquous, and unworthy of kingly piety, then to conferre the loyall subjects Estates vpon open knowne Rebels? What more sacred then publick Faith? What more infamous then the violation of the same? For which in all tymes, dreadfull punishments have befallne the Violators.

3. Can there be any thing more Barbarous and against Iustice, then to turne an Innocent out of his owne house and right inheritance?

4. The Christians in Constantinople, and other the Dominions of the Turck; are dealt with farre better, and with more moderation then the Catholicks of Irland, whome those Statsmen have excluded from all Commerce; which the very Turcks doe grant vnto their Christians.

5. Men must renounce their Religion, the Basis of salvation, or loose their Advousins, a cruell Impious Tye vpon Catholick patrons, but each of them will answer, *Non Emam tanti pœnitere.*

6. Heer you see Rebellion rewarded, and Loyalty punished, a preposterous and monstrous kinde of Iustice; Behold O bountifull God this their portentous and Impious iniquity. Now I see afflicted Countrymen you may ramble up and downe the world, and loudly raise your voyce

and say *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo & Angelis, & hominibus*. "Wee are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, and to men." Could there be more formal Iniquity, then to devast Innocent true subjects of their estates and liberty, and conferre the same upon those fought against the King and Crowne? was it not a pretious knavery of these Statsmen, to perswade the King to such Impiety as this?

What shall I think or say of these Statsmen, contrivers of this great wickedness? Even that which Salvianus the good Bishop of Missilia, said of the Lieutenants and Prefects of the Provinces, *Magistratus*, (quoth hee) *Et Provinciarum præfecti Statuunt non furandum, et agunt ipsi latrocinia, puniunt rapinam cum ipsi sint Maximi raptores; puniunt expoliatores domorum, cum ipsi sint expoliatores provinciarum; tantimo as adoptus honor dat beneficii, ut semper habeant jus latrocinandi*.

"The rulers and commaunders of Cittys and Provinces, ordaines a law that none shall steal, and yet they themselves play the theefe; they punish rapine, and yet they themselves are great snatchers; they punish plunderers of houses, & themselves are the robbers and plunderers of intyre provinces; for this they have of benefitt by the honour obtained, that they can always robb and plunder with authority. This have bine the liberty our præfated Statsman have assumed to themselves, and without question their malice must be deeply polished, when they could perswade, deceive and

delude a King stiled (the King of mercy and pardons) to give his Royall assent and approbation to the forementioned Act of Settlement, an unspeakable, and an unheard Justice, *Pregentes viperarum quis domonstravit vobis fugere a ventura* Joa facite ergo fructum dignum pænitiæ." Matth. cap. 3. v. 8. "Ye breed of vipers who hath shewed you to fly from the wrath to come, yeild therefore fruit—worthy of penance." I am hieere compelled to cry with the Prophet Jeremy with teares and sighs to God, "Remember O Lord what is false to us, behold and regard our reproach, our inheritance is turned to aliens, our houses to strangers." Lament. cap. 5.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of all these Usurpers who hath used most Artifice and Perfidie ?

It is by this made evident, that all of them used much cunning and cruelty in compassing the worke of Catholick Irelands destruction ; but Ormond hath surpassed them all ; take my reason, Orrery , Cloathworthy, and all of the holy Cromwelian crew have don noe less or more then wee expected from them, when they should be able to do us a mischief ; at longerunning they had power to doe it ; and they have egrediously don

it, and boasting in that sinn, they tell us, they have in our Tragedy acted their owne part, that of enemys; and wee must confess they have not deceived us in trust, haveing never trusted them.

Clarindon hath been but a stranger to our nation, wee first knew this crooked man in his, and our exile, and though we have don him good service, hee was evermore our Enemy, and pay'd benefitts don him with Injurys, as men of his nature use to doe; in a word hee was a man (as all that knew him will say) would for gold sell away the sonne of God himselfe, and for gold he hath sold us and justice.

But Ormond the greatest Nobleman now of our Nation, in whome all the Nobility in generall, and the generality of the people repos'd (a speciall confidence hath betrayed that trust, a black staine of infamy upon a great Peere descended from soe Catholick and Noble Ancestors). Hee hath not proved (as wee expected) a pillare and prop to his Nation, but a brused rotten Reed of Egypt, deserting us in tyme of tryall, and joyning with all our Enemys, that thirsted after our lives and possessions. It is true, we are not our selves without some blame in the ruins of our Fortunes and Country, our sinne in our unadvised trust in Ormond, which made the way easy for him to deceive us; wee have not bine wary, and mischief entreth at the open gates of security, Ormond came upon us in that kinde; wee had most of us frindly harts for him, and we tooke his

hart to be such to us. *Per maximam amicitiam maxima fallendi copia.* (Salust. Jugurth.) In fine wee have bine lost, because wee did not feare his crafty ways and dealings: but let him consider well, what annalls and posterity will say of him for having betrayd us in this nature; certainly hee hath don more unworthily than if hee had oppressed us by open violence: *Quia fraus fediors quam aperta violentia.*

After this feate of distruction don upon us, at which nations abroad are amaized, and abhorre the actors, (and wonder much our King that spake soe much good of us *In facie solis*, gave us up sacrifices to our Enemys without all protection of our Innocency) what doe these gallant Usurpers? Doe they relent, or doe they feare the revenging hand of God? it seemes noe: but that they rather looke like men left only to make up the number of those the Holy Ghost speaks of.

“*Cum (said they) and let vs enjoy the good things that are, let vs fill our selves with pretious wine and Oyntments, and let not the flower of the tyme pass vs, let vs Crowne our selves with Roses before they wither; Every where let vs leave signes of joy, because this is our portion, and lott; let vs oppress the poore Iust man, and not spare the Widow, but let our strength be the law of Iustice, for that which is weake is found vnprofitable.” Have not I beseech

* Wisdome the 2. Chap.

you the doings of those oppressed the afflicted Innocent Irish, been the very same doings of those the Holy Ghost speakes of, living and pampering themselves in great feastings, sensuality, pomps, vanitys, pride, and pleasures? They seem by their life and manners to be Athists, (of that Tribe many these days live in Courts) and if they are really soe, they will Enjoy the purchases they have made by Robbery, without any vnquietness of minde, for what should they feare, that owne noe God or puissance to punnish, and reward, sin and vertue. But if they truly beleve in God, it is Impossible they can Enjoy wrongfully the Lands and livings of the Innocent, that perrish for want of them, without som disquietness of Conscience, and apprehensions of the Iust Iudgments of God to fall upon them. Those men cannot want some of Caine's feares, who after having killed his brother Abel had never quietness or rest of minde, but was still tormented with seuerall feares in hart and tremblings in his head, soe that this unfortunate bloody man terrefy'd and frighted at his owne action, cry'd out a low'd to God. *Ecce Eijcis me hodie a facie terra, & a facie tua abscondar, Et ero vagus & profugus in terra, omnis igitur, qui me invenerit, occidet me.* " Loe then doth cast mee out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shal I be hid; and shall be a vagabond, and fugitive on earth, every one therefore that findetb mee. shall kill

mee. The spilling of Innocent Abels blood made him feare all would kill him, and therefore allways trembling, he feared men, and fled from men, and though the Lord have putt a marke on Caine, that whosoever found him, should not kill him, (a trembling in his head as many hold) Caine was allways frighted, and soe distracted, as to hold that trembling of his head, for a signe given by God that hee should be killed. You see by this how great is the feare and frightening of a guilty Conscience. And can these men live without being frightned after killing soe many Innocent Abels by nakedness, vermin, famin, and all kinde of miserys, having taken from them all they had in the world. There have been many opulent persons and of great quallity, Yea and som of them Peeres and Lords of the Realme have bin lodg'd in small smooking Hutts and Cabins, and as I may well say buried there, and starued to death with their wives and Children. Can the Cruell Robbers of these men live without the feare of Gods anger? If they have not a trembling in the head as Caine had, likely they will have a trembling in their harts.

CHAPTER XX.

The Author speaks to Ormond a lone.

BUT my Lord that I may returne to your Grace (whose house I have ever honoured,) and spend a few words with you alone. Amongst Birds and Beasts (you know full well) som are Noble, and som Ignoble; Lyons begett Lyons, and Eagels ingender Eagels; your ancient house hath given of both Lyons, and Eagels. Your Noble progenitors, nobly minded did worthy things, and performed great matters, the poorest neighbour liu'd safly neare them, possessing quietly what was his owne, they succoured the distressed, and farre it was from them to oppress the weakest; but have been a propp to such as could not stand by themselves; and for such worthy doings, the affection and blessing of those releev'd by them, and supported by them in their right and just causes, have followed your Ancestors: But my Lord the world speakes otherwise of your Grace, that being extolled to the title of Duke (that your house had not before) you digenerate from the true piety and greatness of your brave Ancestors, for the natives ouer all the Kingdome complaine that your power is Imploy'd to the oppression of all, wherefore they all cry out, can not the Duke of Or-

monds greatness stand without our fall and ruin, Is it possible my Lord that this title of greatness is soe much increased in you, and that of vertue deminished?

My Lord the Lyons of your house (I meane the noble Earles) did praye openly and fairly, but your game is of a new forme; you are a Lyon of a nother nature, then was one of the greatest Earles) of your house (by name black Thomas Granfather to your Lady) a person highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, King James and the Counsellis of England and Irland, and of the people of both Kingdoms, hee made noe purchases by distroying the natives of the Kingdom, as yours are, yet hee was both a happy and glorious Earle, hospiciously noble, and had many depending of his bounty and good nature, who made noe small fortune by him.

Nahum the Prophet, if you will take the paynes to read him, will tell you what kind of Lyon you are; "where is (saith hee) the habitation of Lyons? and the pasture of Lyons whelpes? The Lyon hath caught (saith hee) sufficiently for his whelpes, and hath killed for his Lyoness, and hath filled his Denns with forage and his couch with Ravening," O, Ormond, Ormond thou hast caught "sufficiently for thy whelps, thou hast filled thy Dens with praye, and thy couch "with Ravening, thou hast made the noble house of Ormond an infamous Denn and couch of Rapine; thy whelps are made fatt with praye and booty upon thy neighbours."

My Lord, there is a nother Prophet speakes to your Grace, and to Orrery and the rest of the usurpers, in words able to make you tremble: "Woe to him" (said Habacuc cap. 2.) that ga thereth naughty Avarice to his house that his nest may be on high, and thinketh hee is delivered out of the hand of Evil, thou hast thought confusion to the house, thou hast outt in sunder many people, and thy soule hath sinned, because the stone out of the wall shall cry; and the Timber that is between the Juncturs of the buildings, shall answer, wo to him that buildeth a citty in blouds, and prepareth a citty in Iniquitys." A dreadful expression.

Have not you my Lord and the rest of your Complices cutt insunder many familys; most of them er this consumed with hunger and Miserys are gon into the other world, and for such of them that live as yet, they are miserably perishing at home and abroad, will not the blood of those be layd at your doore? Your ambition have built nestes in a high place from the reache of human hands, but not from the hand of God, who with the breathe of Indignation will caste them all downe in his good tyme; yee have houses and magnificent palaces for your posterity in Blouds, and the stone out of the wall shall cry out against you, and the Timber between the Junctures of your buildings shall answer, "Woe to them that builded cittys in bloud prepared houses in Iniquitys;" God in a moment (though

at present yee glory and tryumph in your greatness and pleasures) can fill your houses with dissolations, mournings, Ignominy, death, feare, and trembling: And perhaps will doe it, when you least think of it.

When Sr. Ralph Fan was condemned to dye by the practices of the Duke of Northumberland, and brought to the place of Execution, in protestation of his Innocency, spook only these two words, "My blood shall be the Dukes bolster as longe as hee shall live."

My Lord you may have (I feare) many of these uneasy bolsters: cast therefore an eye upon the other world (whilst God mercifully gives you tyme to doe it,) and take that care now for your selfe, that noe other will, once you are gon, and persuade your selfe, that without this care all is lost and gon for all eternity.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ormond seriously advised to think of longe Eternity.

MY Lord, God did forbid the Hebrues to mingel honey in the oblations, but commaunded them to use salt in every sacrifice, "what sacrifice soever thou offerest, thou shalt season it with salt, neither shalt thou take a way the salt of

the Covenant of the God from thy sacrifice. In every oblation thou shalt offer salt." What mystery doth this signify to banish honey from the sacrifice and make use of salt? Why salt in sacrifice and not honey? This is to tell us that sweet things deceive vs, and that flatterers betray vs, but sharp things cure vs, and mortify the body and minde when wee are to Sacrifice both to God, and that wee are to heare patiently and willingly those, that speak trueth without assentation, and with the salt of sencerity. * God himselfe sayd, "My people they that the blessed, the same deceive thee." But a lasse it is now in fashion that Princes and great men are deceived, because those about them will not speak a trueth, that thaire Masters will not willingly heare. It is a great question with mee, if any one of your numerous family, or of all those that depend vpon you, and gaine much by you, or of all those, that seem to be your frinds, will say to your Grace the language and words of the Prophet Isai. † "Our Lord shall com to Iudgment with the Antients of his people, and his Princes, for you have destroyed the vynyard, and the spoyle of the poore is in your house. Why doe you consume my people, and gryn'd the faces of the poore, saith our Lord the God of Hostes?" I doe not think any of them hath spoken to your Grace in this kinde, though they know well the

* Isai, cap. 3. † Isai, cap. 3.

spoyle of the poore is in your house , and that you and many more powerfull men have Grynded the faces of the poore and destroy'd and consum'd them ; wherfore you and they have reason to feare , that God will soon com to Iudgment with you, vnless you will tymly prevent it.

Wise men should chase away from them flatterers , as wee doe swallowes for making nests of dung in our dwellings. My Lord flatter not your selfe with the great contentments of this world you Enjoy , vast revenues , great pomp , Copious Retenue , the veneration and low bowing of the people vnto you , Gorgious , atyre , magnificent feastings , all your Iolitys and pleasures ; they will all pass a way like smook , and that soon , for they say you begin to be old : those that tells your Grace these things can make you happy , doe but delude you , and you can carry away of all noe more then a winding sheet : it were therfore wisely don to forsake tymly those things , that will forsake , and vndoe vs. And I think truly it would be a great blessing to a person of your greatness and Employments , that God would strick you with som great affliction and Cross , for it is not easy for those to be wise and holy , whoe see nothing round about them but prosperity , delights , the aplause of men , and all sort of pleasures and sensualitys , and that noe man tells them they are in danger. Alexander the great , in the height of his Glory and victorys suffered men to call him the sonne of Iupiter (it was not Enough for his ambition

to be the sonne of Phillip of Massedon a wise and great King) but wounded with an Arrow in the siege of a Citty hee said to his courtiers and flatterers round about him, * *Ecce omnes jurant me esse filium Iovis : sed vulnus hoc me esse hominum clamat.* "Behold all sweare I am the sonne of Iupiter : but this wound proclaimes mee to be a man." Vexation makes vs know Gods greatness and our owne weakness.

When the people of Israel murmoured seditiously against Moyses and Aaron for want of water, God commaunded them both to take the Rodd, and stricke a Rock therwith; and it should give them water. All the tyme Moyses held the Rodd lifted over the Rock and did not stricke, there came noe water, but the Rock being twice stricken with the Rod water flow'd out abundantly, and the people and their Cattle did drinck plentifully. The hart of a man is a hard Rock, and will yield noe water of compunction vntill stricken by the hand of God, but when man is smartingly afflicted in his fortunes or health, then hee can weep, and know God and himselfe; it were therefore wholesome and good for your Lordship to receive a great vexation, cross, and contradiction in this world, and soe I confess it should be to mee, that have nothing of contentations and worldly pleasures as you have.

* Senec, Epist. 45.

Remember my good Lord in what a trembling was Ezechias, when the Prophet said to him, * "Take order with thy house for thou shalt dye, and thou shalt not live." Then Ezechias though a holy King in feare cry'd out. *Quis est hic, qui sic humiliat sublimes reges terre?* God hath already given your grace, a sensible and gracious a-larum, when those desperate Ruffians set vpon you by night and wounded you, haling and abusing you most ignominiously; God in his mercy brought you of from those bloudy men and would not permitt you to be murthered by them, but gave you time to doe penance and dispose your selfe well for the house of death; you can never thank his divine goodness enough for his deliverance; make good use my Lord of this great mercy in duly preparing your selfe for the next world. Wee goe to bedd sound and well, and yet we are not certaine to live till the morning following, many were found dead in their bedd that parted the night before merrily and sound from their frinds; it may bee your case my Lord as well as theirs, and mine alsoe, and to what eternity wee shall com God alone knowes: O Eternity! O Eternity! how little art thou in the harts of men! O fyre burning for all Eternity how little art thou feared!

My Lord I present to your Grace a short but horrible Meditation of Eternity, as this. If the

* Isai, cap. 38.

damned soules could be persuaded that after a hundred thousand millions of yeares their torments should have an end, that very perswasion alone would be a great comfort to them, for then their sufferings (albeit very long) at length would come to an end, but otherwise they are perswaded, and assured the revolution of their pains and flames shall never have an end; (this makes them despair and blaspheme the goodness of God.) If this wee believe not, where is our faith? And if wee believe it where is our Judgment and heart? What madness is it to neglect soe Important a matter as the Eternall salvation of our soule? (without this a thousand worlds are worth nothing) this is the great matter of state, on which wee ought to bestow day and night, all care and deliberation, what rest can wee take by night or by day when this wee sleight?

Harken as yet my Lord (with this I make an end) to the fearfull words afflicted Jobe spake to those came to visit him, "Why then (quoth this Holy man) Doe the Impious live? Are they advanced, and strengthened with riches? their seed continueth before them, a multitude of Kinsmen and Nephews in their sight, their houses be secure and peaceable, and the Rod of God is not upon them" (Job. 21) but did Job make an end here? noe, but a little after hee says. "Where is the house of the Prince? and where are the Tabernacles of the Impious? Ask any of the way-faring men, and

you shall understand , that hee knoweth the self-same things , because the wicked man is Kept unto the day of perdition , and hee shall be ledd to the day of fury." My Lord, I say, ponder well in your minde these dreadfull speeches of holy and patient Job, and prepare your selfe in tyme (I conjoure you) against this day of fury and perdition.

O Great and gracious God Grant to mee , and this Noble-man , (grant I begg by the pretious Bloud and Sacred wounds of thy deare sonne Jesus) that wee may in Humility , in Teares , and true contrition of hart returne to thee , whose greatness , and goodness we have soe often and grivously offended , (our great misery falls prostrate at the feet of thy great mercy.) Grant to us I beseech thee going out of this miserable and wicked world a Happy , and Holy houre , and that when the Vaile of the Temple shall be lifted up , wee may see you face to face for all Eternity. Amen.

THE END.

Abstract

